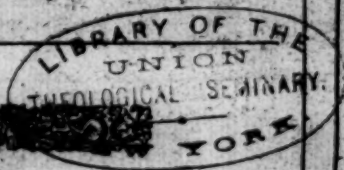


A  
Collection of PAPER S  
AGAINST  
POPERY  
AND  
Arbitrary Government.

Written by  
<sup>libert</sup>  
G. BURNET, D. D.



Printed at *Amsterdam*, and sold by *J. Robinson*  
in *London*, MDCLXXXIX.

Collection of PAPERS

AGAINST

POPE

AND

Arbitrary Government.

Written by

G. BURNET, D.D.

London

Printed at Ambler's, and sold by J. Roberts  
in London, MDCCLXXIX.

A Letter, containing some Remarks on the two  
Papers, writ by his late Majesty King Charles the  
Second, concerning Religion.

SIR,

I thank you for the *two Royal Papers*, that you have sent me: I had heard of them before, but now we have them so well attested, that there is no hazard of being deceived by a false Copy: you expect that in return, I should let you know, what Impression they have made upon me. I pay all the reverence that is due to a *Crown'd Head*, even in Ashes; to which I will never be wanting: far less am I capable of suspecting the *Royal Attestation* that accompanies them; of the truth of which I take it for granted no man doubts; but I must crave leave to tell you, that I am confident, the *late King* only copied them, and that they are not of his composing: for as they have nothing of that *free Air*, with which he expressed himself; so there is a Contexture in them, that does not look like a *Prince*; and the beginning of the *first* shewes it was the effect of a *Conversation*, and was to be communicated to another: so that I am apt to think they were composed by another, and were so well relished by the *late King*, that he thought fit to keep them, in order to his examining them more particularly: and that he was prevailed with to *Copy* them, lest a Paper of that nature might have been made a crime, if it had been found about him written by another hand: and I could name one or two Persons, who as they were able enough to compose such *Papers*, so had power enough over his Spirit to engage him to *Copy* them, and to put themselves out of danger by restoring the *Original*.

You ought to address your self to the *learned Divines* of our Church, for an

answer to such things in them as puzzle you, and not to one that has not the honour to be of that *Body*; and that has now carried a Sword for some time, and employs the leisure that at any time he enjoys, rather in *Philosophical* and *Mathematical Enquiries*, than in matters of *Controversy*. There is indeed one Consideration that determined me more easily to comply with your desires, which is, my having had the honour to discourse copiously of those matters with the *late King* himself: and he having proposed to me some of the particulars that I find in those *Papers*, & I having said several things to him, in answer to those *Heads*, which he offered to me only as *Objections*, with which he seemed fully satisfied, I am the more willing to communicate to you, *that* which I took the liberty to lay before his *late Majesty* on several occasions: the particulars on which he insisted in discourse with me, were the *usefulness* of a *Law* without a *Judge*, and the necessity of an *infallible Tribunal* to determine *Controversies*: to which he added, the many *Sects* that were in England, which seemed to be a necessary consequence of the *Liberty* that every one took to interpret the *Scriptures*: and he often repeated that of the Church of England arguing, from the obligation to obey the Church, against the *Sectaries*, which he thought was of no force, unless they allowed more Authority to the Church than they seemed willing to admit, in their Disputes with the Church of Rome. But upon this whole Matter I will offer you some *Reflections*, that will, I hope, be of as great weight with you, as they are with my self.

I. All Arguments that prove upon such general Considerations, that there ought to be an *Infallible Judge*  
A named

named by *Christ*, and clothed with his *Authority*, signify nothing, unless it can be shewed us, in what *Texts of Scripture* that nomination is to be found; and till that is shewed, they are only *Arguments* brought to prove that *Christ ought to have done somewhat that he has not done*. So these are in effect so many *Arguments* against *Christ*, unless it appears that he has authorised such a *Judge*: therefore the right way to end this dispute, is, to shew where such a *Constitution* is authorised: So that the most that can be made of this is, that it amounts to a *favorable presumption*.

II. It is a very unreasonable thing for us to form *Presumptions*, of what *is*, or *ought to be*, from Inconveniences that do arise, in case that such things are not: for we may carry this so far, that it will not be easie to stop it. It seems more suitable to the infinite Goodness of *God*, to communicate the knowledge of himself to all Mankind, and to furnish every Man with such assistances as will certainly prevail over him: It seems also reasonable to think, that so perfect a Saviour as *Iesus Christ* was, should have shewed us a certain *Way*, and yet consistent with the free Use of our Faculties, of avoiding all *sin*: nor is it very easy to imagine, that it should be a reproach on his *Gospel*, if there is not an *Infallible Preservative* against *Error*, when it is acknowledged, that there is no *Infallible Preservative* against *Sin*: for it is certain, that the one Damns us more *Infallibly*, than the other.

III. Since *Presumptions* are so much insisted on, to prove what things must be appointed by *Christ*; it is to be considered, that it is also a reasonable *Presumption*, that if such a *Court* was appointed by him, it must be done in such plain terms that there can be no room to question the meaning of them: and since this is the hinge upon which all other matters turn, it

ought to be expressed so particularly, in whom it is vested, that there should be no occasion given to dispute, whether it is in *One Man* or in *A Body*; and if in a *Body*, whether in the Majority, or in the two thirds, or in the whole *Body* unanimously agreeing: in short, the Chief thing in all Governments being the Nature and Power of the Judges, those are always distinctly specified; and therefore if these things are not specified in the *Scriptures*; it is at least a strong *Presumption*, that *Christ did not intend to authorise such Judges*.

IV. There were several Controversies raised among the Churches to which the *Apostles* writ, as appears by the Epistles to the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, *Galatians* and *Colossians*, yet the *Apostles* never make use of those passages that are pretended for this Authority to put an end to those Controversies; which is a shrewd *Presumption*, that they did not understand them in that sense in which the Church of *Rome* does now take them. Nor does *St. Paul* in the directions that he gives to *Church-men* in his Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, reckon this of submitting to the directions of the Church for one, which he could not have omitted, if this be the true meaning of those disputed passages: and yet he has not one word sounding that way, which is very different from the directions which one possessed with the present, view that the Church of *Rome* has of this matter must needs have given.

V. There are some things very expressly taught in the *N. Testament*, such as the rules of a *Good Life*, the Use of the Sacraments, the addressing our selves to *God* for *Mercy* and *Grace*, thro the Sacrifice that *Christ* offered for us on the Cross, and the Worshipping him as *God*, the Death, Resurrection and Ascension of *Iesus Christ*, the Resurrection of our Bodies and Life Everlasting: by which it is apparent, that



we are set beyond doubt in those matters; if then there are other passages more obscure concerning other matters, we must Conclude, that these are not of that Consequence, otherwise they would have been as plainly revealed as the others are; but above all, if the *Authority of the Church* is delivered to us in *disputable terms*, that is a just prejudice against it, since it is a thing of such Consequence, that it ought to have been revealed in a way so very clear and past all dispute.

VI. If it is a presumption for particular persons to judge concerning Religion, which must be still referred to the *Priests* & other Guides in sacred matters; this is a good Argument to oblige all Nations to continue in the *Established Religion*, whatever it may happen to be; and above all others, it was a convincing Argument in the mouths of the *Jews* against our *Saviour*. He pretended to be the *Messias*, and proved it both by the *prophecies* that were accomplished in him, and by the *Miracles* that he wrought: as for the *Prophecies*, the Reasons urged by the Church of *Rome* will conclude much stronger, that such dark Passages as those of the *Prophets* were, ought not to be interpreted by *Particular persons*, but that the Exposition of these must be referred to the *Priests* and *Sanhedrin*, it being expressly provided in their law (*Deut. 17. 8.*) *That when controversies arise, concerning any cause that was too intricate, they were to go to the place which God should choose, and to the Priests of the tribe of Levi, & to the judge in those days, & that they were to declare what was right, & to their decision all were obliged to submit, under pain of death*: so that by this it appears, that the *Priests* in the *Jewish Religion* were authorised in so extraordinary a manner, that I dare lay the Church of *Rome* would not wish for a more formal testimony on her behalf: As for our *Saviours* *Mi-*

(3)  
*racles*, these were not sufficient neither, unless his *doctrine* was first found to be good: since *Moses* had expressly warned the people (*Deut. 13. 1.*) *That if a Prophet came and taught them to follow after other Gods, they were not to obey him, tho he wrought miracles to prove his Mission, but were to put him to death*: So a *Jew* saying, that *Christ*, by making himself one with his father, brought in the worship of another God, might well pretend that he was not obliged to yield to the authority of our *Saviours* *Miracles*, without taking cognizance of his doctrine, and of the *Prophecies* concerning the *Messias*, and in a word, of the whole matter. So that, if these *Reasonings* are now good against the *Reformation*, they were as strong in the mouths of the *Jews* against our *Saviour*: and from hence we see, that the authority that seems to be given by *Moses* to the *Priests*, must be understood with some Restrictions; since we not only find the *Prophets*, and *Jeremy* in particular, opposing themselves to the whole body of them, but we see likewise, that for some considerable time before our *Saviour's* dayes, not only many ill-grounded traditions had got in among them, by which the vigour of the moral law was much enervated, but likewise they were also universally possessed with a false notion of their *Messias*; so that even the *Apostles* themselves had not quite shaken off those Prejudices at the time of our *Saviour's* *Ascension*. So that, here a Church, that was still the Church of God, that had the appointed means of the *Expiation* of their sins, by their *Sacrifices* and *Washings*, as well as by their *Circumcision*, was yet under great and fatal Errors, from which particular persons had no way to extricate themselves, but by examining the Doctrine and texts of *Scripture*; and by judging of them according to the Evidence of Truth, and the force & freedom of their Faculties.

VII. It seems Evident, that the passage [*Tell the Church*] belongs only to the *Reconciling of Differences*: that of [*Binding & of Loosing*], according to the use of those terms among the *Laws*, signifies only an *Authority* that was given to the *Apostles*, of giving Precepts, by which men were to be obliged to such Duties, or set at liberty from them: and [*the gates of Hell not prevailing against the Church*] signifies only, that the *Christian Religion* was never to come to an end, or to perish: & that of [*Christ being with the Apostles to the end of the world*] imports only a special *Conduct & Protection* which the *Church* may always expect, but as the promise, *I will not leave thee nor forsake thee*; that belongs to every *Christian*, does not import an *infallibility*: no more does the other: And for those passages concerning [*the spirit of God that searches all things*] it is plain, that in them *St. Paul* is treating of the *Divine inspiration*, by which the *Christian Religion* was then opened to the world; which he sets in opposition to the *wisdom or Philosophy* of the *Greeks*; so that as all those passages come far short of proving that for which they are alleged, it must at least be acknowledged, that they have not an evidence great enough to prove so important a truth, as some would evince by them; since 'tis a matter of such vast consequence, that the proofs for it must have an undeniable Evidence.

VIII. In the matters of *Religion* two things are to be considered, first, the account that we must give to God, and the Rewards that we expect from him: and in this every man must answer for the sincerity of his heart, in examining divine Matters, and the following what (upon the best enquiries that one could make) appeared to be true: and with relation to this, there is no need of a *Judge*; for in that Great Day every

one must answer to God according to the talents that he had, and all will be sayed according to their Sincerity; and with relation to that judgement, there is no need of any other judge but God. A *Second view of Religion*, is as it is a *Body* united together, & by consequence brought under some regulation: and as in all *States*, there are subalterne *Judges*, in whose decisions all must at least acquiesce, tho they are not *infallible*, there being still a sort of an appeal to be made to the *sovereign* or the *supream legislative Body*; so the *Church* has a Subalterne *Jurisdiction*: but as the Authority of Inferiour Judges is still regulated, and none but the Legislators themselves have an Authority equal to the Law; So it is not necessary for the preservation of Peace and Order, that the *Decisions* of the *Church* should be *infallible*, or of equal Authority with the *Scriptures*. If Judges do so manifestly abuse their Authority, that they fall into Rebellion and Treason, the subjects are no more bound to consider them; but are obliged to resist them, and to maintain their obedience to their Sovereign; tho' in other matters their Judgment must take place, till they are reversed by the Sovereign. The case of *Religion* being then this, That *Jesus Christ* is the Sovereign of the *Church*; the Assembly of the *Pastors* is only a subalterne *Judge*: if they manifestly oppose themselves to the *Scriptures*, which is the *Law of Christians*, particular persons may be supposed as competent *Judges* of that, as in Civill Matters they may be of the Rebellion of the *Judges*, and in that case they are bound still to maintain their Obedience to *Jesus Christ*. In matters *Indifferent*, Christians are bound, for the Preservation of Peace and Unity, to acquiesce in the Decisions of the *Church*, and in matters justly doubtful,

(5)  
or of small Consequence, tho they are convinced that the *Pastors* have erred, yet they are obliged to be silent, and to bear tolerable things, rather than make a Breach: but if it is visible, that the *Pastors* do Rebel against the *Sovereign* of the Church, I mean *Christ*, the People may put in their Appeal to that great Judge, and there it must lie. If the Church did use this Authority with due Discretion, and the People followed the rules that I have named with humility and modesty, there would be no great danger of many Divisions; but this is the great Secret of the Providence of God, that men are still men, and both *Pastors* and *People* mix their Passions and Interests so with matters of Religion, that as there is a great deal of Sin and Vice still in the World, so that appears in the Matters of Religion as well as in other things: but the ill Consequences of this, tho they are bad enough, yet are not equal to the Effects that Ignorant Superstition, and Obedient zeal have produced in the World, Witness the Rebellions and Wars for establishing the *Worship of Images*; the *Crossades* against the *Saracens*, in which many Millions were lost; those against *Hernicks*, and *Princes* deposed by *Popes*, which lasted for some Ages; and the *Massacre of Paris*, with the Butcheries of the *Duke of Alba* in the last Age, and that of *Ireland* in this: which are, I suppose, far greater Mischiefs than any that can be imagined to arise out of a *Small Diversity of Opinions*: and the present State of this Church, notwithstanding all those unhappy *Rems* that are in it, is a much more desirable thing, than the gross Ignorance and blind Superstition that reigns in *Italy* and *Spain* at this day.

IX. All these reasonings concerning the *Infallibility of the Church* signify nothing, unless we can certainly know, *whither we must go for this Decision*: for while one *Party* shewes us, that it Must

be in the *Pope*, or is no where, and another *Party* sayes it *Cannot* be in the *Pope*, because as many *Popes* have erred, so this is a *Doctrin* that was not known in the Church for a thousand Years, and that has been disputed ever since it was first asserted, we are in the right to believe both sides; first, that if it is not in the *Pope*, it is no where; and then, that certainly it is not in the *Pope*; and it is very Incongruous to say, that there is an *Infalible* Authority in the Church, and that yet it is not certain where one must seek for it; for the one ought to be as clear as the other; and it is also plain, that what *Primacy* so ever *St. Peter* may be supposed to have had, the Scripture sayes not one word of his *Successors at Rome*; so at least this is not so clear, as a matter of this Consequence must have been, if *Christ* had intended to have lodged such an *Authority* in that *See*.

X. It is no less Incongruous to say, that this *Infallibility* is in a *General Council*: for it must be somewhere else, otherwise it will return only to the Church by some Starts, and after long Intervals: and as it was not in the Church, for the first 320 years, so it has not been in the Church these last 120 years. It is plain also, that there is no Regulation given in the *Scriptures*, concerning this great Assembly, who have a right to come & Vote, and what forfeits this right, and what numbers must concur in a Decision, to assure us of the *Infallibility* of the Judgment. It is certain, there was never a *General Council* of all the *Pastors* of the Church: for those of which we have the *Acts*, were only the *Councils* of the *Roman Empire*, but for those Churches that were in the South of *Asiick*, or the Eastern Parts of *Asia*, beyond the bounds of the *Roman Empire*, as they could not be summoned by the *Emperours* Authority, so it is certain none of them were present: unless one or two of *Persia* at  
Niet,

Nice, which perhaps was a Corner of Persia belonging to the Empire; and unless it can be proved, that the Pope has an *Absolute Authority* to cut off whole Churches from their right of coming to Councils, there has been no General Council these last 700. years in the World, ever since the Bishops of Rome have excommunicated all the Greek Churches upon such trifling reasons, that their own Writers are now ashamed of them; and I will ask no more of a Man of a Competent understanding, to satisfy him that the Council of Trent was no General Council, acting in that Freedom that became Bishops, than that he will be at the pains to read *Card. Pallavicini's* History of that Council.

XI. If it is said, that this Infallibility is to be sought for in the Tradition of the Doctrine in all Ages, and that every particular Person must examine this: here is a Sea before him, and instead of examining the small Book of the N. Testament, he is involved in a study that must cost a Man an Age to go thro it; and many of the Ages, thro which he carries this Enquiry, are so dark, and have produced so few Writers, at least so few are preserved to our dayes, that it is not possible to find out their belief. We find also Traditions have varied so much that it is hard to say that there is much weight to be laid on this way of Conveyance. A Tradition concerning Matters of Fact that all People see, is less apt to fall than a Tradition of Points of Speculation: and yet we see very near the Age of the Apostles, contrary Traditions touching the Observation of Easter, from which we must conclude, that either the Matter of Fact of one side, or the other, as it was handed down, was not true, or at least that it was not rightly understood. A Tradition concerning the Use of the Sacraments being a visible thing, is more likely to be exact, than a Speculation concerning their nature; and yet we find a

Tradition of giving Infants the Communion, grounded on the indispensable necessity of the Sacrament, continued a thousand Years in the Church. A Tradition on which the Christians founded their Joy and Hope, is less like to be changed, than a more remote Speculation, and yet the first Writers of the Christian Religion had a Tradition handed down to them by those who saw the Apostles, of the Reign of Christ for a thousand Years upon Earth; and if those who had Matters at second hand from the Apostles, could be thus mistaken, it is more reasonable to apprehend greater errors at such a distance. A Tradition concerning the Book of the Scriptures is more like to be exact, than the Exposition of some passages in it; and yet we find the Church did unanimously believe the Translation of the 70. Interpreters to have been the effect of a miraculous Inspiration, till St. Jerome examined this Matter better, and made a New Translation from the Hebrew Copies. But which is more than all the rest, It seems plain, that the Fathers before the Council of Nice believed the Divinity of the Son of God to be in some sort Inferiour to that of the Father, and for some Ages after the Council of Nice, they believed them indeed both equal, but they considered them as two different Beings, and only one in Essence, as, three men have the same humane Nature in common among them; and that as one Candle lights another, so the one shined from another; and after the fifth Century the Doctrine of one Individual Essence was received. If you will be farther informed concerning this, Father Petau will satisfy you as to the first Period before the Council of Nice, and the learned Dr. Cudworth as to the second. In all which particulars it appears, how variable a thing Tradition is. And upon the whole Matter, the examining Tradition thus, is still a searching among Books, and here is no living Judge.

XII. If then the *Authority* that must decide *Controversies*, lies in the Body of the *Pastors* scattered over the World; which is the last retrenchment; here as many and as great *Scruples* will arise, as we found in any of the former Heads. Two difficulties appear at first view, the one is, *How can we be assured that the present Pastors of the Church are derived in a just Succession from the Apostles*: there are no *Registers* extant that prove this: So that we have nothing for it but some *Hypocrites*, that are so carefully writ, that we find many mistakes in them in other Matters; and they are so different in the very first links of that Chain, that immediately succeeded the *Apostles*, that the utmost can be made of this is, that here is a *Historical Relation* somewhat doubtful; but here is nothing to found our Faith on: so that if a *Succession* from the *Apostles* times, is necessary to the Constitution of that *Church*, to which we must submit our selves, we know not where to find it: besides that, the *Doctrine* of the necessity of the *Intention* of the *Minister* to the *Validity* of a *Sacrament*, throws us into inextricable difficulties. I know they generally say, that by the *Intention* they do not mean the *inward Acts* of the *Minister* of the *Sacrament*, but only that it must appear by his *outward* deportment, that he is in earnest going about a *Sacrament*, and not doing a thing in jest; and this appeared so reasonable to me, that I was sorry to find our *Divines* urge it too much: till turning over the *Rubrics* that are at the beginning of the *Missal*, I found upon the head of the *Intention* of the *Minister*, that if a *Priest* has a Number of *Hosties* before him to be consecrated, and intends to consecrate them all, except one, in that case that *Vagrant* exception falls upon them all: it not being affixed to any one, and it is defined that he consecrates none at all. Here it is plain, that the secret *Act*, of

a *Priest* can defeat the *Sacrament*: so that this overthrows all certainty concerning a *Succession*: But besides all this, we are sure, that the *Greek Churches* have a much more uncontested *Succession* than the *Latins*: So that a *Succession* cannot direct us: And if it is necessary to seek out the *Doctrines* that are universally received, this is not possible for a private Man to know: So that in *Ignorant Countries*, where there is little Study, the People have no other certainty concerning their *Religion*, but what they take from their *Curate* and *Confessor*: since they cannot examine what is generally received. So that it must be confessed that all the Arguments that are brought for the necessity of a constant *infallible Judge*, turn against all those of the *Church of Rome*, that do not acknowledge the *Infallibility* of the *Pope*: for if he is not *Infallible*, they have no other *Judge*, that can pretend to it. It were also easy to shew, that some *Doctrines* have been as Universally received in some *Ages*, as they have been rejected in others; which shews, that the *Doctrine* of the present *Church* is not always a sure measure. For five *Ages* together, the *Doctrine* of the *Popes* Power to *dispose Hierarchical Princes* was received without the least Opposition: and this cannot be doubted by any that knows what has been the State of the *Church* since the End of the eleventh *Century*: & yet I believe, few *Princes* would allow this, notwithstanding all the concurring Authority of so many *Ages* to fortify it. I could carry this into a great many other Instances, but I single out this, because it is a point in which *Princes* are naturally extream sensible.

Upon the whole Matter, it can never enter into my mind, that God, who has made Man a Creature, that naturally enquires and reasons, and that feels as sensible a pleasure when he



he can give himself a good account of his actions, as one that sees, does perceive in comparison to a blind man that is led about; and that this God, that has also made Religion on design to perfect this humane Nature, and to raise it to the utmost height to which it can arrive, has contrived it to be dark, and to be so much beyond the penetration of our Faculties, that we cannot find out his mind in those things that are necessary for our Salvation: and that the Scriptures, that were writ by plain men, in a very familiar stile, and address without any discrimination to the Vulgar, should become such an unintelligible Book in these Ages, that we must have an *Infallible Judge* to expound it: and when I see not only *Popes*, but even some Bodies that pass for *General Councils*, have so expounded many passages of it, and have wrested them so visibly, that none of the *Modern Writers* of that Church pretend to excuse it, I say I must freely own to you, that when I find I need a *Commentary* on dark passages, these will be the last persons to whom I will address my self for it. Thus you see how fully I have opened my mind to you in this matter; I have gone over a great deal of ground in as few Words as is possible, because hints I know are enough

for you; I thank God, these Considerations do fully satisfy me, and I will be infinitely joyed, if they have the same effect on you.

I am yours.

**T**His Letter came to London with the return of the first Post after his late Majesties Papers were sent into the Countrey; some that saw it, liked it well, and wished to have it publick, and the rather, because the Writer did not so entirely confine himself to the Reasons that were in those Papers, but took the whole Controversy to task in a little compass, and yet with a great variety of Reflections. And this way of examining the whole Matter, without following those Papers word for word, or the finding more faults than the common concern of this Cause required, seemed more agreeing to the respect that is due to the Dead, and more particularly to the Memory of so great a Prince; but other Considerations made it not so easy nor so advisable to procure a License for the Printing this Letter, it has been kept in private hands till now; those who have boasted much of the Shortness of the late Kings Papers, and of the length of the Answers that have been made to them, will not find so great a disproportion between them and this Answer to them.

F I N I S.

R E A S O N S

Against the Repealing the

ACTS of P A R L I A M E N T

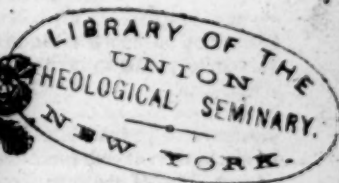
Concerning the

T E S T.

Humbly offered to the Consideration of the  
*Members of both Houses*, at their  
next Meeting

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of April 1687.

Gilbert Buenaot.



Printed in the Year 1687.

R E A S O N S

Against the Reporting the

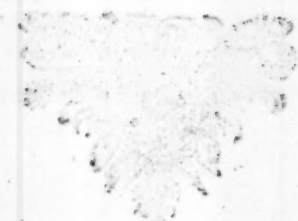
ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

Concerning the

T H E S T.

Humbly offered to the Consideration of the  
Members of both Houses, at their  
next Meeting

On the 22<sup>d</sup> of April 1687.



Printed in the Year 1687.

REASONS against the Repealing the *Acts*  
of *Parliament* concerning the T E S T.  
Humbly offered to the consideration of  
the *Members* of both *Houses*, at their next  
Meeting on the 28<sup>th</sup> of *April* 1687.

**I**F the just apprehensions of the *Danger* of *Papery* gave the Birth to the two *Laws* for the two *Tests*, the one with relation to all publick *Employments* in 73. and the other with relation to the *Constitution* of our *Parliaments* for the future in 78. the present time and conjuncture does not seem so proper for repealing them; unless it can be imagined, that the *danger* of *Papery* is now so much less than it was formerly, that we need be no more on our guard against it. We had a *King*, when these *Laws* were enacted, who as he declared himself to be of the *Church* of *England*, by receiving the *Sacrament* four times a year in it, so in all his *Speeches* to his *Parliaments*, and in all his *Declarations* to his *Subjects*, he repeated the assurances of his firmness to the *Protestant Religion* so solemnly and frequently, that if the saying a thing often gives just reason to believe it, we had as much reason as ever *People* had to depend upon him: and yet for all that, it was thought necessary to fortify those assurances with *Laws*: and it is not easy to imagin, why we should throw away those, when we have a *Prince* that is not only of another *Religion* himself, but that has expressed so much *steadiness* in it, and so much *zeal* for it, that one would think we should rather now seek a further *security*, than throw away that which we already have.

II. Our *King* has given such Testimonies of his *Zeal* for his *Religion*, that we see among all his other Royal Qualities, there is none for which he desires and deserves to be so much admired. Since even the passion of *Glory*, of making himself the terror of all *Europe*, and the *Arbiter* of *Christendom*, (which as it is natural to all *Princes*, so must it be most particularly so to one of his Martial and Noble Temper) yields to his *Zeal* for his *Church*; and that he, in whom we might have hoped to see our *Edward* the third, or our *Henry* the 5th revived, chooses rather to merit the heightning his degree of *Glory* in another World, than to acquire all the Lawrels and Conquests that this low and vile World can give him: and that, instead of making himself a terror to all his Neighbours, he is contented with the humble *Glory* of being a terror to his own *People*; so that instead of the great *Figure*, which this *Reign* might make in the *World*, all the news of *England* is now only concerning the practices on some fearful *Mercenaries*.

These things shew, that His Majesty is so possessed with his Religion, that this cannot suffer us to think, that there is at present no danger from Popery.

III. It does not appear, by what we see, either abroad or at home, that Popery has so changed its nature, that we have less reason to be afraid of it at present, than we had in former times. It might be thought ill nature to go so far back, as to the Councils of the Lateran, that decreed the extirpation of Hereticks, with severe Sanctions on those Princes that failed in their Duty, of being the Hangmen of the Inquisitors; or to the Council of Constance; that decreed, that Princes were not bound to keep their faith to Hereticks; tho' it must be acknowledged, that we have extraordinary Memories if we can forget such things, and more extraordinary Understandings if we do not make some inferences from them. I will not stand upon such inconsiderable Trifles as the Gunpowder Plot, or the Massacre of Ireland; but I will take the liberty to reflect a little on what that Church has done since those Laws were made, to give us kinder and softer thoughts of them, and to make us the less apprehensive of them. VVe see before our eyes what they have done, and are still doing in France; and what feeble things Edicts, Coronation Oaths, Laws and Promises, repeated over and over again, prove to be, where that Religion prevails; and Louis le Grand makes not so contemptible a Figure in that Church, or in our Court, as to make us think, that his example may not be proposed as a Pattern, as well as his aid may be offered for an encouragement, to act the same things in England, that he is now doing with so much applause in France: and it may be perhaps the rather desired from hence to put him a little in countenance, when so great a King as ours is willing to forget himself so far as to copy after him, and to depend upon him: so that as the Doctrine and Principles of that Church must be still the same in all Ages and Places, since its chief pretension is, that it is infallible, it is no unreasonable thing for us to be afraid of those, who will be easily induced to burn us a little here, when they are told, that such fervent zeal will save them a more lasting burning hereafter, and will perhaps quit all scores so entirely, that they may hope scarce to endure a Singing in Purgatory for all their other Sins.

IV. If the severest Order of the Church of Rome, that has breathed out nothing but Fire and Blood since its first formation, and that is even decryed at Rome it self for its Violence, is in such credit here; I do not see any enduement from thence to persuade us to look on the Councils that are directed by that Society, as such harmless and inoffensive things, that we need be no more on our guard against them. I know not why we may not apprehend as much from Father Petre, as the French have felt from *Pere de la Chaise*, since all the difference that is observed to be between them, is, that the English Jesuite has much more Fire and Passion, and much less Conduct and Judgment than the French has. And when Rome has expressed so great a Jealousy of the Interest that that Order had in our Councils, that F. Morgan, who was thought to influence our Ambassador, was ordered to leave Rome, I do not see why England should look so tamely on them. No reason can be given why Card. Howard should be shut out of all their Councils, unless it be, that the Nobleness of his Birth, and the Gentleness of his Temper, are



are too hard even for his *Religion* and his *Purple*, to be mastered by them. And it is a Contradiction, that nothing but a Belief capable of receiving *Transubstantiation* can reconcile, to see Men pretend to observe *Law*, and yet to find at the same time an *Ambassadour* from *England* at *Rome*, when there are so many *Laws* in our *Book of Statutes*, never yet repealed, that have declared over and over again all Commerce with the *Court* and *See of Rome* to be *high Treason*.

V. The late famous *Judgment* of our *Judges*, who knowing no other way to make their *Names* immortal, have found an effectual one to preserve them from being ever forgot, seems to call for another Method of Proceeding. The *President* they have set must be fatal either to *them* or *us*. For if 12 *Men*, that get into *Scarlet* and *Furrs*, have an *Authority* to dissolve all our *Laws*, the *English Government* is to be hereafter lookt at with as much scorn, as it has hitherto drawn admiration. That doubtful *VVords* of *Laws*, made so long ago, that the intention of the *Lawgivers* is not certainly known, must be expounded by the *Judges*, is not to be questioned: but to infer from thence, that the plain *VVords* of a *Law*, so lately made, and that was so vigorously asserted by the *present Parliament*, may be made *void* by a Decision of theirs, after so much Practice upon them, is just as reasonable a way of arguing, as theirs is, who because the *Church of England* acknowledges, that the *Church* has a Power in *Matters of Rites and Ceremonies*, will from thence conclude, that this Power must go so far, that tho' Christ has said of the Cup, *drink ye all of it*, we must obey the *Church* when she decrees, that we shall not drink of it. Our *Judges*, for the greater part, were *Men* that had past their Lives in so much Retirement, that from thence one might have hoped, that they had studied our *Law* well, since the *Bar* had called them so seldom from their *Studies*: and if *Practice* is thought often hurtful to speculation, as that which disorders and hurries the Judgment, they who had practised so little in our *Law*, had no byass on their Understandings: and if the habit of taking *Money* as a *Lawyer* is a dangerous preparation for one that is to be an *incorrupt Judge*, they should have been *incorruptible*, since it is not thought, that the greater part of them got ever so much *Money* by their *Profession*, as pay'd for their *Furrs*. In short, we now see how they have merited their *Preferment*, and they may yet expect a further *Exaltation*, when the Justice and the *Laws of England* come to be in hands, that will be as careful to preserve them, as they have been to destroy them. But what an Infamy will it lay upon the Name of an *English Parliament*, if instead of calling those *Betrayers of their Country* to an account, they should go by an after-game to confirm what these *Fellows* have done.

VI. The late *Conferences* with so many *Members of both Houses*, will give such an ill-natured piece of Jealousy against them, that of all Persons living, that are the most concern'd to take care how they give their *Votes*, the *VVorld* will believe, that *Threatnings* and *Promises* had as large a share in those *secret Conversations*, as Reasoning or Persuasion: and it must be a more than ordinary degree of Zeal and Courage in them, that must take off the Blot, of being *sees for*, and spoke to, on such a subject and in such a manner. The worthy Behaviour of the *Members* in the *last Session*, had made the *Nation* unwilling to remember the Er-

rors committed in the *first Election*: and it is to be hoped, that they will not give any cause for the future to call that to mind. For if a *Parliament*, that had so many Flaws in its first Conception, goes to repeal *Laws*, that were sure were made by *Legal Parliaments*, it will put the *Nation* on an Enquiry that nothing but necessity will drive them to. For a *Nation* may be laid asleep, and be a little cheated, but when it is awaked, and sees its danger, it will not look on and see a *Rape* made on its *Religion* and *Liberties*, without examining, *from whence have these Men this Authority?* they will hardly find that it is of *Men*; and they will not believe that it is of *God*. But it is to be hoped, that there will be no occasion given for this angry question, which is much easier made than answered.

VII. If all that were now asked in favour of *Papery*, were only some Gentleness towards the *Papists*; there were some reason to entertain the *Debate*, when the Demand were a little more modest: If Men were to be attainted of *Treason*, for being reconciled to the *Church of Rome*, or for reconciling others to it; if *Priests* were demanded to be hanged, for taking Orders in the *Church of Rome*; and if the *two thirds* of the *Papists Estates* were offered to be *levied*, it were a very natural thing to see them uneasy and restless; but now the matter is more barefaced; they are not contented to live at ease, and enjoy their *Estates*; but they must carry all before them: and *F. Perre* cannot be at quiet, unless he makes as great a *Figure* in our *Court*, as *Pere de la Chaise* does at *Versailles*.

A Cessation of all Severities against them, is that to which the *Nation* would more easily submit; but it is their *Behaviour* that must create them the continuance of the like Compassion in another *Reign*. If a restless and a persecuting Spirit were not inherent in that *Order*, that has now the *Ascendants*, they would have behaved themselves so decently under their present Advantages, as to have made our *Divines*, that have charged them so heavily, look a little out of countenance: and this would have wrought more on the good Nature of the *Nation*, and the *Princely Noblemen* of the *Successors* whom we have in view, than those *Acts of Craft and Violence*, to which we see their Tempers carry them even so early, before it is yet time to show themselves. The Temper of the *English Nation*, the Heroical Virtue of those whom we have in our Eyes, but above all, our most holy *Religion*, which instead of Revenge and Cruelty, inspires us with Charity and Mercy, even for Enemies, are all such things, as may take from the Gentlemen of that *Religion* all sad apprehensions, unless they raise a Storm against themselves, and provoke the *Justice of the Nation* to such a degree, that the *Successors* may find it necessary to be just, even when their own Inclinations would rather carry them to show Mercy. In short, they need fear nothing but what they create to themselves: so that all this stir that they keep for their own Safety, looks too like the securing to themselves *Pardons* for the *Crimes*, that they intend to commit.

VIII. I know it is objected as no small prejudice against these *Laws*, that the very making of them discovered a particular Malignity against His Majesty, and therefore it is ill Manners to speak for them. The first had perhaps an Eye at his being then *Admiral*: and the last was possibly legislated at him: tho' when that was discovered, he was excepted out of it by a special *Preamble*. And as for that which past in 73, I hope it is not forgot, that it was enacted by that *Loyal Parliament*, that had settled both the *Prerogative* of the Crown and the Rites of the Church, and that had given the King more Money than all the *Parliaments* of England had ever done in all former Times. A *Parliament* that had indeed, some Disputes with the King, but upon the first step that he made with relation to Religion or Safety, they shewed how ready they were to forget all that was past: as appeared by their Behaviour after the *Triple Alliance*. And in 73, tho' they had great cause given them to dislike the *Dutch War*, especially the strange beginning of it upon the *Smirna Fleet*: and the stopping the *Exchequer*, the *Declaration* for Toleration, and the *Writs* for the *Members* of the *House*, were Matters of hard Digestion; yet no sooner did the King give them this new Assurance for their Religion then, tho' they had very great Reasons given them to be jealous of the War, yet since the King was engaged, they gave him 1100000 Pounds for carrying it on; and they thought they had no ill Penniworths for their Money, when they carried home with them to their *Countrys*: this new Security for their Religion, which we are desired now to throw up, and which the Reverend *Judges* have already thrown out, as a Law out of date. If this had carried in it any new piece of Severity, their Complaints might be just; but they are extream tender, if they are so uneasy under a Law that only gives them Leisure and Opportunities to live at home. And the last *Test*, which was intended only for shutting them out from a share in the *Legislative Body*, appears to be so just, that one is rather amazed to find that it was so long a doing, than that it was done at last: and since it is done, it is a great presumption on our Understandings to think, that we should be willing to part with it. If it was not sooner done, it was because there was not such cause given for Jealousy to work upon: but what has appeared since that time, and what has been printed in his late Majesty's name, shews the World now, that the *Islands* which occasioned those *Laws*, were not so ill grounded, as some well meaning Men perhaps then believed them to be. But there are some times in which all Mens Eyes come to be opened.

IX. I am told, some think it is very indecent to have a *Test* for our *Parliament*, in which the King's Religion is accused of *Idolatry*; but if this reason is good in this particular, it will be full as good against several of the *Articles* of our Church, and many of the *Homilies*. If the Church and Religion of this Nation is so formed by

Law,

*Law*, that the *King's Religion* is declared over and over again to be *Idolatrous*, what help is there for it? It is no other, than it was when His Majesty was Crowned, and *Sware* to maintain our *Laws*.

I hope none will be wanting in all possible respect to his sacred Person; and as we ought to be infinitely sorry to find him engaged in a *Religion*, which we must believe *Idolatrous*, so we are far from the ill manners of reflecting on his Person, or calling him an *Idolater*: for as every Man that reports a Lye, is not for that to be called a Liar; so tho' the ordering the Intention, and the prejudice of a misperfuasion are such abatements, that we will not rashly take on us to call every Man of the *Church of Rome* an *Idolater*; yet on the other hand, we can never lay down our Charge against the *Church of Rome* as guilty of *Idolatry*, unless at the same time we part with our *Religion*.

X. Others give us a strange sort of *Argument*, to perswade us to part with the *Test*; they say, *the King must employ his Popish Subjects, for he can trust no other; and he is so assured of their Fidelity to him, that we need apprehend no Danger from them*. This is an odd Method to work on us, to let in a sort of People to the *Parliament* and *Government*, since the *King* cannot trust us, but will depend on them: so that as soon as this *Law* is repealed, they must have all the Employments, and have the whole power of the *Nation* lodged in their hands; this seems a little too gross to impose, even on *Irishmen*. The *King* saw for many Years together, with how much Zeal both the *Clergy*, and many of the *Genry* appeared for his Interests; and if there is now a Melancholy Damp on their Spirits, the *King* can dissipate it when he will; and as the *Church of England* is a Body that will never rebel against him, so any Sullenness, under which the late Administration of Affairs has brought them, would soon vanish, if the *King* would be pleas'd to remember a little what he has so often promised, not only in *Publick* but in *Private*; and would be contented with the Exercise of his own *Religion*, without imbroiling his whole Affairs, because *F. Petre* will have it so: and it tempts Englishmen to more than ordinary degrees of *Rage*, against a sort of *Men*, who it seems, can infuse in a *Prince*, born with the highest sense of Honour possible, Projects, to which without doing some Violence to his own Royal Nature, he could not so much as hearken to, if his *Religion* did not so fatally misse him up in a blind Obedience. But if we are so unhappy, that *Priests* can so disguise Matters, as to mislead a *Prince*, who without their ill Influences would be the most *Glorious Monarch* of all *Europe*, and would soon reduce the *Grand Louis* to a much humbler figure; yet it is not to be so much as imagined, that ever their Arts can be so unhappily successful, as to impose on an *English Parliament*, composed of *Protestant Members*.

F I N I S.

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# S O M E REFLECTIONS

On his Majesty's  
PROCLAMATION

Of the 12<sup>th</sup> of February 168<sup>6</sup> for a Toleration in Scotland,  
together with the said Proclamation.

By Gilbert Burnet.

I. **T**He Preamble of a Proclamation, is oft writ in halt, and is the flourish of some wanton Pen: but one of such an Extraordinary nature as *this is*, was probably more severely examined; there is a new designation of his Majesty's Authority here set forth of his **Absolute Power**, which is so often repeated, that it deserves to be a little searched into. *Prerogative Royal*, and *Sovereign Authority*, are Terms already received and known; but for this **Absolute Power**, as it is a new Term, so those who have coined it, may make it signify what they will. The *Roman Law* speaks of *Princeps Legibus solutus*, and *Absolute* in its natural signification, importing the being without all Ties and Restraints; then the true meaning of this seems to be, that there is an *Inherent Power* in the King, which can neither be restrained by *Laws*, *Promises*, nor *Oaths*; for nothing less than the being free from all these, renders a *Power Absolute*.

II. If the former Term seemed to stretch our Allegiance, that which comes after it, is yet a step of another nature, tho one can hardly imagine what can go beyond **Absolute Power**; and it is in these Words, **Which all our Subjects are to obey without reserve**. And this is the carrying obe-

dience many fises beyond what the *Grand Seigneur* has ever yet claimed: For all *Princes*, even the most Violent pretenders to **Absolute Power**, till *Lewis the Great's* time, have thought it enough to oblige their Subjects to submit to their Power, and to bear whatsoever they thought good to impose upon them; but till the Days of the late *Conversions* by the *Dragoons*, it was never so much as pretended, that Subjects were bound to obey their Prince without Reserve, and to be of his Religion, because he would have it so. Which was the only Argument that those late *Apostles* made use of; so it is probable this qualification of the duty of Subjects was put in here, to prepare us for a terrible *le Roy le veut*; and in that case we are told here, that we must obey without reserve; and when those severe Orders come, the *Privy Council*, and all such as execute this Proclamation, will be bound by this Declaration to shew themselves more forward than any others, to obey without reserve: and those poor pretensions of *Conscience*, *Religion*, *Honour*, and *Reason*, will be then reckoned as reserved upon their obedience, which are all now shut out.

III. These being the grounds upon which this Proclamation is founded, we ought not only to consider what consequences are



now drawn from them, but what may be drawn from them at any time hereafter; for if they are of force, to justify that which is now inferred from them, it will be full as just to draw from the same premises an Abolition of the *Protestant Religion*, of the Rights of the *Subjects*, not only to *Church-Lands*, but to all *Property* whatsoever. In a word, it asserts a *Power* to be in the *King*, to command what he will, and an *Obligation* in the *Subjects*, to obey whatsoever he shall command.

IV. There is also mention made in the Preamble of the *Christian Love and Charity*, which his *Majesty* would have established among *Neighbours*; but another dash of a Pen, founded on this *Absolute Power*, may declare us all *Heretics*; and then in wonderful *Charity* to us, we must be told, that we are either to obey without *Reserve*, or to be *Burnt without Reserve*. We know the *Charity* of that *Church* pretty well: It is indeed *Persecution* and *Burning*; and if we have forgot what has been done in former Ages, *France*, *Savoie*, and *Hungary*, have set before our eyes very fresh instances of the *Charity* of that *Religion*: While those Examples are so green, it is a little too imposing on us, to talk to us of *Christian Love and Charity*. No doubt his *Majesty* means sincerely, and his *Exactness* to all his *Promises*, chiefly to those made since he came to the *Crown*, will not suffer us to think an unbecoming thought of his Royal Intentions; but yet after all, tho it seems by this *Proclamation*, that we are bound to obey without *Reserve*, it is hardship upon hardship to be bound to *Believe without Reserve*.

V. There are a sort of People here tolerated, that will be very hardly found out: and these are the *Moderate Presbyterians*: Now, as some say, that there are very few of those People in *Scotland* that deserve this Character, so it is hard to tell what it amounts to; and the calling any of them *Immoderate*, cuts off all their share in this *Grace*. *Moderation* is a quality that lies in the mind, and how this will be found out, I cannot so readily guess. If a Standard

had been given of Opinions or Practices, then one could have known how this might have been distinguished; but as it lies, it will not be easy to make the Discrimination; and the declaring them all *Immoderate*, shuts them out quite.

VI. Another Foundation laid down for repealing all *Laws* made against the *Papists*, is, that they were enacted in *K. James the Sixth's* Minority: with some harsh expressions, that are not to be insisted on, since they shew more the heat of the penner, than the Dignity of the Prince, in whose name they are given out; but all these *Laws* were ratified over and over again by *K. James*, when he came to be of full Age; and they have received many Confirmations by *K. Charles the First*, and *K. Charles the Second*, as well as by his present *Majesty*, both when he represented his Brother in the year 1681. and since he himself came to the *Crown*: so that whatsoever may be said concerning the first Formation of those *Laws*, they have received now for the course of a whole hundred years, that are lapsed since *K. James* was of full Age, so many Confirmations, that if there is any thing certain in Humane Government, we might depend upon them; but this new coyned *Absolute Power* must carry all before it.

VII. It is also well known, that the whole Settlement of the *Church Lands* and *Tithes*, with many other things, and more particularly the Establishment of the *Protestant Religion*, was likewise enacted in *K. James's* minority, as well as those *Penal Laws*: so that the Reason now made use of, to annul the *Penal Laws*, will serve full as well for another Act of this *Absolute Power*, that shall abolish all those; and if Maxims that un hinge all the Securities of Humane Society, and all that is sacred in Government, ought to be looked on with the justest and deepest prejudices possible, one is tempted to lose the respect that is due to every thing that carries a Royal stamp upon it, when he sees such grounds made use of, as must shake all Settlements what-

whatsoever; for if a prescription of 120. years, and Confirmations reiterated over and over again these 100. years past, do not purge some Defects in the first Formation of those *Laws*, what can make us secure: but this looks so like a Fetch of the *French Prerogative Law*, both in their processes with Relation to the *Edict of Nantes*, and those concerning *Dependence at Metz*, that this seems to be a Copy from that famous Original.

VIII. It were too much ill nature to look into the History of the last Age, to examine on what grounds those characters of *valiant* and *blessed* given to the *Memory* of *Q. Mary* are built; but since *K. James's Memory* has the character of *glorious* given to it, if the civility due to the *fair sex* makes one unwilling to look into the one, yet the other may be a little dwelt on. The peculiar *Glory* that belongs to *K. James's Memory*, is, that he was a Prince of great Learning, and that he employed it chiefly in writing for his *Religion*: of the *Volume in folio*, in which we have his *works*, two thirds are against the *Church of Rome*; one part of them is a Commentary on the *Revelation*, proving that the *Pope is Antichrist*; another part of them belonged more naturally to his Post and Dignity; which is the warning that he gave to all the Princes and states of *Europe*, against the Treasonable and bloody Doctrines of the *Papacy*. The first Act he did when he came of Age, was to swear in person with all his family, and afterwards with all his people of *Scotland*, a *Covenant*, containing an Enumeration of all the *points of Popery*, and a most solemn renunciation of them, somewhat like our *Parliament Test*: his *first Speech* to the *Parliament* of *England* was Copious on the same subject: and he left a *Legacy* of a *Will* on such of his *posterity* as should go over to that *Religion*, which in good manners is suppressed. It is known, *K. Lewis* was no *Conquerour*, and that he made more use of his *Pen* than his *Sword*: so the *Glory* that is peculiar to his *Memory* must fall chiefly on his *Learned* and *Immortal Writings*: and

(3)  
since there is such a *Veneration* expressed for him, it agrees not ill with this, to wish, that his *Works* were more studied by those who offer such *Incense* to his *glorious Memory*.

IX. His *Maj.* assures his people of *Scotland*, upon his certain *knowledge* and *long Experience*, that the *Catholicks*, as they are good *Christians*, so they are likewise *Dutiful Subjects*: but if we must believe both these equally, then we must conclude severely against their being *Good Christians*; for we are sure they can never be *Good Subjects*, not only to a *Heretical Prince*, but even to a *Catholic Prince*, if he does not *extirpate Hereticks*; for their beloved *Council of the Lateran* that decreed *Transubstantiation*, has likewise decreed, that if a *Prince* does not *extirpate Hereticks* out of his *Dominions*, the *Pope* must *depose him*, and declare his *Subjects* absolved from their *Allegiance*, and give his *Dominions* to another: So that even His *Majesty*, how much soever he may be a *Zealous Catholic*, yet cannot be assured of their *fidelity* to him, unless he has given them *secret assurances*, that he is resolved to *extirpate Hereticks* out of his *Dominions*; and that all the *Promises* which he now makes to these poor wretches are no other way to be kept, than the assurances which the *Great Lewis* gave to his *Protestant Subjects*, of his observing till the *Edict of Nantes* even after he had resolved to break it, and also his last promise made in the *Edict*, that repeated the *Edict of Nantes*, by which he gave *Assurances*, that no *Violence* should be used to any for their *Religion*, in the very time that he was ordering all possible *Violences* to be put in execution against them.

X. His *Majesty* assures us, that on all occasions the *Papists* have shewed themselves *Good and faithful Subjects* to him and his *Royal Predecessors*; but how *absolute* soever the *Kings Power* may be, it seems his *knowledge* of History is not so *absolute*, but it may be capable of some *Improvement*. It will be hard to find out what *Loyalty* they shewed on the occasion of the *Gunpowder Plot*, or during the whole progress of the

*Rebellion of Ireland*; if the King will either take the words of *K. James of Glorious Memory*, or *K. Charles the first*, that was indeed *Glorious and Blessed Memory*, rather than the word of the penners of this *Proclamation*, it will not be hard to find occasions where they were a little wanting in this their so much boasted *Loyalty*: and we are sure, that by the Principles of that *Religion*, the King can never be assured of the *Fidelity* of those he calls his *Catholic Subjects*, but by engaging to them to make his *Heretical Subjects* Sacrifices to their Rage.

XI. The King declares them capable of all the Offices and *Benefices* which he shall think fit to bestow on them, and only restrains them from invading the *Protestant Churches by force*: so that here a door is plainly opened for admitting them to the exercise of their *Religion* in *Protestant Churches*, so they do not break into them by force; and whatsoever may be the sense of the term *Benefice* in its ancient and first signification, now it stands only for *Church Preferments*; so that when any *Churches*, that are at the Kings gift, fall vacant, here is a plain intimation, that they are to be provided to them; and then it is very probable, that all the *Laws* made against such as go not to their *Parish Churches*, will be severely turned upon those that will not come to *Mass*.

XII: His Majesty does in the next place, in the virtue of his *Absolute Power*. Annul a great many *Laws*, as well those that established the *Oaths of Allegiance and supremacy*, as the late *Test*, enacted by himself in person, while he represented his Brother: upon which he gave as strange an Essay to the World of his *Absolute Justice* in the Attainder of the late Earl of *Argile*, as he does now of his *Absolute Power* in condemning the *Test* it self; he also repeals his own Confirmation of the *Test*, since he came to the *Crown*, which he offered as the clearest Evidence that he could give of his Resolution to maintain the *Protestant Religion*, and by which he gained so much upon that *Parliament*, that he obtained every thing

from them that he desired of them; till he came to try them in the Matters of *Religion*. This is no extraordinary Evidence to assure his People, that his *Promises* will be like the *Laws* of the *Medes and Persians*; which alter not; nor will the disgrace of the *Commissioner* that enacted that *Law*, lay this matter wholly on him; for the *Letter*, that he brought, the *Speech* that he made, and the *Instructions* which he got, are all too well known to be so soon forgotten: and if *Princes* will give their *Subjects* reason to think, that they forget their *promises*, as soon as the turn is served for which they were made, this will be too prevailing a temptation on the *Subjects* to mind the *Princes promise* as little as it seems he himself does; and will force them to conclude, that the truth of the Prince, is not so *Absolute* as it seems he fancies his power to be.

XIII. Here is not only a repealing of a great many *Laws*, and established *Oaths and Tests*, but by the Exercise of the *Absolute Power*, a new *Oath* is imposed, which was never pretended to by the *Crown* in any former time; and as the *Oath* is created by this *Absolute Power* / so it seems the *Absolute Power* must be supported by this *Oath*: since one branch of it, is an obligation to *Maintain His Majesty and his Lawfull Successors in the exercise of this their Absolute Power and Authority against all* deadly, which I suppose is *Scotch for Mortals*: now to impose so hard a yoke as this *Absolute Power* on the *Subjects*, seems no small stretch; but it is a wonderfull exercise of it to oblige the *Subjects* to defend this: it had been more modest, if they had been only bound to bear it, and submit to it: but it is a terrible thing so far to extinguish all the remnants of natural Liberty, or of a legal Government, as to oblige the *Subjects* by *Oath* to maintain the exercise of this, which plainly must destroy themselves: for the short execution by the Bow-strings of *Turkey*, or by sending orders to men to return in their heads, being an exercise of this *Absolute Power* / it is a little hard to make men swear to maintain the King in it: and if that

that Kingdom has suffered so much by the many *Oaths* that have been in use among them, as is marked in this *Proclamation*, I am afraid this new *Oath* will not much mend the matter.

XIV. Yet after all, there is some Comfort; his Majesty assures them, he will use no *Violence* nor *force*, nor any *Invincible Necessity* to any man on the account of his *Persuasion*: It were too great a want of respect to fancy, that a time may come in which even this may be remembered, full as well, as the *Promises* that were made to the *Parliament* after His Majesty came to the *Crown*: I do not, I confess, apprehend that; for I see here so great a caution used in the choice of these words, that it is plain, very great Severities may very well consist with them: It is clear, that the general words of *Violence* and *Force* are to be determined by these last of *Invincible Necessity* / so that the King does only *promise* to lay no *Invincible Necessity* on his *Subjects*; but for all *Necessities*, that are not *Invincible*, it seems they must expect to bear a large share of them; *Disgraces*, want of *Employments*, *Fines*, and *Imprisonments*, and even *Death* it self are all *Vincible* things to a man of a firmness of mind: so that the *Violences of torture*, the *Furies of Dragoons*, and some of the *Methods* now practised in *France*, perhaps may be Included within this *Promise*; since these seem almost *Invincible* to humane nature, if it is not fortified with an Extraordinary measure of *Grace*: but as to all other things, His Majesty binds himself up from no part of the *Exercise of his Absolute Power* by this

Promise.

XV. His Majesty orders this to go immediately to the *Great Seal*, without passing thro the other *Seals*: now since this is counter-signed by the *Secretary*, in whose hands the *Signet* is, there was no other step to be made but thro the *Privy Seal*; so I must own, I have a great curiosity of knowing his Character in whose hands the *Privy Seal* is at present; for it seems his *Conscience* is not so very supple, as the *Chancellors* and the *Secretaries* are; but it is very likely, if he does not quickly change his mind, the *Privy Seal* at least will very quickly change its *Keeper*; and I am sorry to hear, that the *L. Chancellor* and the *Secretary* have not another Brother to fill this post, that so the guilt of the ruin of that *Nation*, may lie on one single *Family*, and that there may be no others involved in it.

XVI. Upon the whole matter, many smaller things being waved, it being extream unpleasant to find fault, where one has all possible dispositions to pay all respects, we here in *England* see what we must look for. A *Parliament* in *Scotland* was tryed, but it proved a little Stubborn; and now *Absolute Power* comes to set all right, so when the *Closeting* has gone round, so that *Noses* are counted, we may perhaps see a *Parliament* here, but if it chanes to be untoward, and not to obey without *Resistance*, then our Reverend *Judges* will copy from *Scotland*, and will not only tell us of the *Kings Imperial Power*, but will discover to us this new Mystery of *Absolute Power*, which we are all bound to obey without *Resistance*.

These Reflexions refer in so many places to some words in the *Proclamation*, that it was thought necessary to set them near one another, that the Reader may be able to judge, whether he is deceived by any false Quotations or not.

By



By the King.

## A PROCLAMATION.

JAMES R.

**J**AMES the Seventh by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all and sundry our good Subjects, whom these presents do or may concern, Greeting. We having taken into Our Royal Consideration the many and great Inconveniencies which have happened to that Our Ancient Kingdom of Scotland of late years, through the different persuasions in the Christian Religion, and the great Heats and Animosities amongst the several Professors thereof, to the ruin and decay of Trade, wasting of Lands, extinguishing of Charity, contempt of the Royal Power, and converting of true Religion, and the Fear of GOD, into Animosities, Names, Factions, and sometimes into Sacrilege and Treason: And being resolved as much as in Us lies, to unite the Hearts and Affections of Our Subjects, to GOD in Religion, to Us in Loyalty, and to their Neighbours in Christian Love and Charity. Have therefore thought fit to Grant, and by Our Sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and Absolute Power, which all Our Subjects are to obey without Reserve; Do hereby give and grant Our Royal Toleration, to the several Professors of the Christian Religion aforesaid, with, and under the several Conditions, Restrictions, and Limitations aftermentioned. In the first place, We allow and tolerate the *Independent Presbyterians*, to Meet in their Private Houses, and there to hear all such *Ministers*, as either have, or are willing to accept of Our Indulgence allanely, and none other, and that there be not any thing said or done contrary to the Well and Peace of Our Reign, Seditious or Treasonable, under the highest Pains these Crimes will import; nor are they to presume to Build Meeting-Houses, or to use Our Houses or Barns, but only to exercise in their Private Houses, as said is: In the mean time, it is Our Royal Will and Pleasure, that *Field Conventicles*, and such as Preach, or Exercise at them, or who shall any ways assist or connive at them,

shall be prosecuted according to the utmost Severity of our Laws made against them, seeing from these Rendezvous of Rebellion, so much Disorder hath proceeded, and so much Disturbance to the Government, and for which after this Our Royal Indulgence for tender Consciences there is no excuse left. In like manner, we do hereby tolerate *Quakers* to meet and exercise in their Form, in any Place or Places appointed for their Worship. And considering the Severe and Cruel Laws, made against *Roman Catholics* (therein called *Papists*) in the Minority of Our Royal Grand Father of Glorious Memory, without His Consent, and contrary to the Duty of good Subjects, by His Regents, and other Enemies to their Lawful Sovereign, Our Royal Great Grand Mother Queen Mary of blessed and pious Memory, wherein under the pretence of Religion, they clothed the worst of Treasons, Factions, and Usurpations, and made these Laws, not as against the Enemies of GOD, but their own; which Laws have still been continued of course without design of executing them; or any of them as *terrorem* only, on Supposition, that the *Papists* relying on an External Power, were incapable of Duty, and true Allegiance to their Natural Sovereigns, and Rightful Monarchs; We of Our certain Knowledge, and long Experience, knowing that the *Catholics*, as it is their Principle to be Good Christians, so it is to be dutiful Subjects; and that they have likewise on all occasions shewn themselves Good and faithfull Subjects to Us, and Our Royal Predecessors, by hazarding, and many of them actually losing their Lives and Fortunes, in their Defence (though of another Religion) & the Maintenance of their Authority against the Violences and Treasons of the most violent Abettors of these Laws: Do therefore with Advice and Consent of Our Privy Council, by Our Sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and Absolute Power, aforesaid, Suspend, Stop and disable all Laws, or Acts of Parliament, Customs or Constitutions, made



(7)  
or executed against any of our Roman-Catholic Subjects, in any time past, to all Intents and Purposes, making void all Prohibitions therein mentioned, Pains or Penalties therein ordained to be inflicted, so that they shall in all things be as free in all Respects as any of Our Protestant Subjects whatsoever, not only to exercise their Religion, but to enjoy all Offices, Benefices and others, which we shall think fit to bestow upon them in all time coming: Nevertheless, it is Our Will and Pleasure, and we do hereby command all Catholics at their highest Pains, only to exercise their Religious Worship in Houses or Chappels, and that they presume not to Preach in the open Fields, or to invade the Protestant Churches by force, under the pains aforesaid, to be inflicted upon the Offenders respectively; nor shall they presume to make Publick Processions in the High-streets of any of Our Royal Burghs, under the Pains above-mentioned. And whereas the Obedience and Service of Our Good Subjects is due to Us by their Allegiance, and Our Sovereignty, and that no Law, Custom or Constitution, Difference in Religion, or other Impediment whatsoever, can exempt or discharge the Subjects from their Native Obligations and Duty to the Crown, or hinder Us from Protecting, and Employing them, according to their several Capacities, and Our Royal Pleasure; nor Refrain Us from Conferring Heretable Rights and Priviledges upon them, or vacate or annul these Rights Heretable, when they are made or conferred: And likewise considering, that some Catholics are capable of being wrested by Men of sinister Intentions, a practice in that Kingdom fatal to Religion as it was to Loyalty; Do therefore, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, *enact, annul and Discharge all Oaths whatsoever*, by which any of Our Subjects are incapacitated, or disabled from holding Places, or Offices in Our said Kingdom, or enjoying their Hereditary Rights and Priviledges, discharging the same to be taken or given in any time coming, without our special Warrant and Consent, under the pains due to the contempt of Our Royal Commands and Authority. And to this effect, we do by Our Royal Authority aforesaid, *stop, disable, and dispense with all Laws* enjoying the said Oaths, Tests, or any of them, particularly the first Act of the first Session of the first Parliament of King Charles the Second; the eleventh Act of the foresaid Session of the foresaid Parliament; the

sixth Act of the third Parliament of the said King Charles; the twenty first and twenty fifth Acts of that Parliament; and the thirteenth Act of the first Session of Our late Parliament, in so far as they are as concerns the taking the Oaths, or Tests therein prescribed, and all others, as well soe mentioned as mentioned, and that in place of them, all Our good Subjects, or such of them as we or Our Privy Council shall require so to do; shall take and swear the following Oath allanely: I, A. R. do acknowledge, testify and declare, that JAMES the Seventh, by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. is rightful King, and Lawfull Governour of these Realms; and over all persons therein; and that it is unlawful for Subjects, on any pretence, or for any cause whatsoever, to rise in Arms against Him, or any Commissionated by Him; and that I shall never so rise in Arms, nor assist any who shall so do; and that I shall never resist His Power, or Authority, nor ever oppose his Authority to his Person, as I shall answer to God; but shall to the utmost of my power, with Devotion, and Maintain Him, His Heirs and Lawfull Successors, in the exercise of their ABSOLUTE POWER and Authority against all Enemies. So help me God. And seeing many of Our good Subjects have, before Our Pleasure in these Matters was made publick, incurred the Guilt appointed by the Acts of Parliament above mentioned, or others; We, by Our Authority, and Absolute Power, and Pardonable Royal above mentioned, of Our certain Knowledge, and Innate Mercy; Give Our ample and full Indemnity to all those of the Roman-Catholic or Popish Religion, for all things by them done contrary to Our Laws or Acts of Parliament, made in any time past, relating to their Religion; the Worship and Exercise thereof, or for being Papists, Jesuits, or Traffickers, for hearing, or laying out Malt, concealing of Priests or Jesuits, breeding their Children Catholics at home or abroad, or any other thing, Rite or Doctrine, said, performed, or maintained by them, or any of them: And likewise, for holding or taking of Places, Employments, or Offices, contrary to any Law or Constitution, Advices given to Us, or Our Council; Actions done, or generally any thing performed or said against the known Laws of that Our Ancient Kingdom: Excepting always from this Our Royal Indemnity, all Murders,

Murders, Assassinations, Thefts, and such like other Crimes, which never used to be comprehended in Our General Acts of Indemnity. And we command and require all Our Judges, or others concerned, to explain this in the most Ample Sense & Meaning Acts of Indemnity at any time have contained: Declaring this shall be as good to every one concerned, as if they had Our Royal Pardon & Remission under Our Great Seal of that Kingdom. And likewise indemnifying Our Protestant Subjects from all Pains and Penalties due for hearing or Preaching in Houses; Providing there be no Treasonable Speeches uttered in the said Conventicles by them, in which case the Law is only to take place against the Guilty; and none other persons: Providing also that they Reveal to any of Our Council the Guilt so committed; As also, executing all Fines, or Effects of Sentences already given. And likewise Indemnifying fully and freely all Quakers for their Meetings and Worship, in all time past, preceding the Publication of these Presents. And we doubt not but Our Protestant Subjects will give their Assistance and Concurrence hereunto, on all occasions, in their respective Capacities. In consideration whereof, and the ease those of Our Religion, and others may have hereby, and for the Encouragement of Our Protestant Bishops, and the Regular Clergy, and such as have hitherto lived orderly, We think fit to declare, that it never was Our Principle; nor will We ever suffer Violence to be offered to any Mans Conscience, nor will We use force, or Inevitable Necessity against any Man on the Account of his Persuasion, nor the Protestant Religion, but will protect Our Bishops and other Ministers in their Functions, Rights and Properties, and all Our Protestant Subjects in the free Exercise of their Protestant Religion in the Churches. And that We will, and hereby Promise, on Our Royal Word, to maintain the Possessors of Church Lands formerly

belonging to *Abbeys*, or other Churches of the Catholic Religion, in their full and free Possession and Right; according to Our Laws and Acts of Parliament in that behalf in all time coming. And We will imploy indifferently all our Subjects of all Persuasions, so as none shall meet with any Discouragement on the account of his Religion, but be advanced, and esteemed by Us, according to their several Capacities and Qualifications, so long as We find Charity and Unity maintained. And if any Animosities shall arise, as We hope in God there will not, We will shew the severest Effects of Our Royal Displeasure against the Beginners or Fomenters thereof; seeing thereby Our Subjects may be deprived of this general Ease and Satisfaction. We intend to all of them, whose Happiness, Prosperity, Wealth and Safety, is so much Our Royal Care, that we will leave nothing undone which may procure these Blessings for them. And lastly, to the End all Our good Subjects may have Notice of this Our Royal Will and Pleasure, we do hereby command, Our Lyon King at Arms, and his Brethera Heralds, Maceors, Pursuivants and Messenger at Arms, to make timous Proclamations thereof at the Mercat Cross of *Edinburgh*; And besides the Printing and Publishing of this Our Royal Proclamation, it is Our express Will and Pleasure, that the same be past under the great Seal of that Our Kingdom per saltum, without passing any other Seal or Register. In Order whereunto, this shall be to the Directors of Our Chancellery, and their Deputies for writing the same, and to Our Chancellor for causing our Great Seal aforesaid, to be appended thereunto, a sufficient Warrant.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the twelfth day of Febr. 1681. and of Our Reign the third year.

By His Majesties Command

MELFORT

God save the King.

F I N I S

# LETTER,

Containing some

## REFLECTIONS

On His MAJESTIES

## DECLARATION

For

## LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE

Dated the Fourth of April, 1687.

By Gilbert Burnet, DD.

SIR,

**I** Thank you for the Favour of sending me the late Declaration that His Majesty has granted for *Liberty of Conscience*. I confess, I longed for it with great Impatience; and was surpris'd to find it so different from the *Scotch Pattern*; for I imagin'd, that it was to be set to the second part of the same tune: nor can I see why the Penners of this have sunk so much in their stile; for I suppose the same men penn'd both. I expected to have seen the Imperial Language of *Absolute Power*, to which all the Subjects are to obey without reserve; and of the casting, annulling, stopping, and disabling

of *Laws* set forth in the Preamble and body of this Declaration; whereas those dreadful words are not to be found here: for instead of *repealing the Laws*, His Majesty pretends by this only to *suspend them*; and tho' in effect this amounts to a *repeal*, yet it must be confessed that the words are softer. Now since the *Absolute Power*, to which His Majesty pretends in *Scotland*, is not founded on such poor things as *Law*; for that would look as if it were the gift of the people; but on the Divine Authority, which is supposed to be delegated to His Majesty, this may be as well claimed in *England* as it was in *Scotland*.

land: and the pretention to *Absolute Power* is so great a thing, that since His Majesty thought fit once to claim it, he is little beholding to those that make him fall so much in his Language; especially since both these *Declarations* have appeared in our *Gazettes*; so that as we see what is done in Scotland, we know from hence what is in some peoples hearts, and what we may expect in England.

II. His Majesty tells his people, that the perfect Enjoyment of their Property has never been in any Case invaded by him since his coming to the Crown. This is indeed matter of great Inconvenience to all good Subjects; for it lets them see, that such Invasions, as have been made on Property, have been done without His Majesties knowledge: so that no doubt the continuing to levy the Customs, and the Additional Excise (which had been granted only during the late Kings Life,) before the Parliaments could meet to renew the Grant, was done without His Majesties knowledge; the many Violences committed not only by Soldiers, but Officers, in all the Parts of England, which are severe Invasions on Property, have been all without His Majesties knowledge; and since the first Branch of Property is the Right that a man has to his Life, the strange Essay of Mahometan Government, that was shewed at Taunton; and the no less strange proceedings of the present Lord Chancellour, in his Circuit after the Rebellion (which are very justly called His Campaigns, for it was an open Act of Hostility to all Law) and for which and other Services of the like nature, it is believed he has had the reward of the Great Seal, and the Executions of those who have left their Colours, which being founded on no Law, are no other than so many Murders; all these, I say, are as we are sure, Invasions on Property; but since the King tells us, that no such Invasions have been made since he came to the Crown, we must conclude that all these things have fallen out without his Privy. And if a standing Army, in time of Peace, has been ever lookt on by this Nation as an Attempt upon the whole Property

of the Nation in gross, one must conclude, that even this is done without His Majesties knowledge.

III. His Majesty expresses his Charity for us in a kind wish, *that we were all Members of the Catholick Church*; in return to which we offer up daily our most earnest prayers for him, that he may become a Member of the truly Catholick Church: for Wishes and Prayers do no hurt on no side: but His Majesty adds, that it has ever been his Opinion, that Conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of meer Religion. We are very happy if this continues to be always his sense: but we are sure in this he is no obedient Member of that which he means by the Catholick Church: for it has over and over again decreed the Exirpaion of Hereticks. It encourages Princes to it, by the Offer of the Pardon of their Sins; it threatens them to it, by denouncing to them not only the Judgments of God, but that which is more sensible, the loss of their Dominions: and it seems they intend to make us know that part of their Doctrine even before we come to feel it, since tho some of that Communion would take away the Horror which the Fourth Council of the Lateran gives us, in which these things were decreed, by denying it to be a General Council, and rejecting the Authority of those Canons, yet the most learned of all the Apostates that has fallen to them from our Church, has so lately given up this Plea, and has so formally acknowledged the Authority of that Council, and of its Canons, that it seems they think they are bound to this piece of fair dealing, of warning us before hand of our Danger. It is true Bellarmin says, The Church does not always execute her Power of deposing Heretical Princes, tho she always retains it: one reason that he assigns, is, because she is not at all times able to put it in execution: so the same reason may perhaps make it appear unadvisable to exirpate Hereticks, because that at present it cannot be done; but the Right remains entire; and is put in execution in such an unrelenting manner in all places where that Religion

ligion prevails, that it has a very ill Grace, to see any *Member* of that *Church* speak in this strain: and when neither the *Policy* of *France*, nor the Greatness of their *Monarch*, nor yet the Interests of the *Emperour* joyned to the Gentleness of his own temper, could withstand these *Bloody Councils*, that are indeed parts of that *Religion*, we can see no reason to induce us to believe, that a *Toleration* of *Religion* is proposed with any other design but either to divide us, or to lay us asleep, till it is time to give the Alarm for destroying us.

IV. If all the *Endeavours*, that have been used in the last four *Reigns*, for bringing the Subjects of this Kingdom to a *Unity* in *Religion* have been ineffectual, as His Maj. says; we know to whom we owe both the first beginnings and the progress of the Divisions among ourselves, the Gentleness of *Q. Elizabeth's* Government, and the numbers of those that adhered to the *Church of Rome*, made it scarce possible to put an end to that Party during her *Reign*, which has been ever since restless, and has had credit enough at *Court* during the three last *Reigns*, not only to support it self, but to distract us, and to divert us from apprehending the danger of being swallowed up by them, by fomenting our own Differences, and by setting on either a *Toleration*, or a *Persecution*, as it has happened to serve their *Interests*. It is not so very long since, that nothing was to be heard at *Court* but the supporting the *Church* of *England*, and the Extirpating all the *Nonconformists*: and it were easy to name the persons, if it were decent, that had this ever in their Mouths; but now all is turned round again, the *Church* of *England* is in *Disgrace*; and now the Encouragement of *Trade*, the Quiet of the *Nation*, and the Freedom of *Conscience* are again in *Vogue*, that were such odious things but a few years ago, that the very mentioning them was enough to load any man with *Suspitions* as backward in the *King's Service*, while such *Methods* are used, and the Government is as in an *Age*, divided between hot and cold fits, no

(3)  
wonder if *Laws* so unsteadily executed have failed of their effect.

V. There is a good reserve here left for *Severity* when the proper Opportunity to set it on presents it self: for his *Majesty* Declares himself only against the forcing of men in matters of *meer Religion*: so that whenever *Religion* and *Policy* come to be so interwoven, that *meer Religion* is not the case, and that *Publick Safety* may be pretended, then this *Declaration* is to be no more claimed: so that the fastning any thing upon the *Protestant Religion*, that is inconsistent with the *Publick Peace*, will be pretended to shew that they are not persecuted for *meer Religion*. In *France*, when it was resolved to extirpate the *Protestants*, all the Discourses that were written on that Subject were full of the *Wars* occasioned by those of the *Religion* in the last Age, tho as these were the happy Occasions of bringing the House of *Bourbon* to the *Crown*, they had been ended above 80. years ago, and there had not been so much as the least Tumult raised by them these 50. years past: so that the *French*, who have suffered under this *Severity*, could not be charged with the least Infraction of the *Law*: yet Stories of a hundred years old were raised up to inspire into the *King* those Apprehensions of them, which have produced the terrible effects that are visible to all the World. There is another Expression in this *Declaration*, which lets us likewise see with what Caution the Offers of Favour are now worded, that so there may be an Occasion given when the Time and Conjunction shall be favourable to break thro' them all: it is in these words, *So that they take special Care that nothing be preached or taught amongst them, which may any ways tend to alienate the Hearts of our People from us or our Governments*. This in it self is very reasonable, and could admit of no Exception, if we had not to do with a set of men, whose our great Misfortune have so much Credit with His *Majesty*, and who will be no sooner lodged in the Power to which they pretend, than they will make every thing that is



preached against Popery pass for that which may in some manner alienate the Subjects from the King.

VI. His Majesty makes no doubt of the Concurrence of his Two Houses of Parliament, when he shall think it convenient for them to meet. The Hearts of Kings are unsearchable; so that it is a little too presumptuous to look into His Majesty's Secret Thoughts: but according to the Judgments that we would make of other mens Thoughts by their Actions, one would be tempted to think; that His Majesty made some doubt of it, since his Affairs both at home and abroad could not go the worse, if it appeared that there were a perfect understanding between Him and his Parliament, and that his People were supporting him with fresh Supplies; and this House of Commons is so much at his Devotion, that all the world saw how ready they were to grant every thing that he could desire of them, till he began to lay off the Mask with relation to the *Test*, and since that time the frequent *Prorogations*, the *Closetting*, and the Pains that has been taken to gain Members, by Promises made to some, and the Disgraces of others, would make one a little inclined to think, that some doubt was made of their Concurrence. But we must confess, that the depth of His Majesty's Judgment is such, that we cannot fathom it, and therefore we cannot guess what his Doubts or his Assurances are. It is true, the words that come after unriddle the Mystery a little, which are, *when His Majesty shall think it convenient for them to meet*: for the meaning of this seems plain, that his Maj. is resolved, that they shall never meet, till he receives such Assurances, in a new round of *Closetting*, that he shall be put out of doubt concerning it.

VII. I will not enter into the dispute concerning Liberty of Conscience, and the Reasons that may be offered for it to a Session of Parliament; for there is scarce any one point, that either with relation to Religion, or Politicks, affords a greater variety of matter for Reflection: and I make no doubt to say, that there is abundance of Reason to oblige a

(4)  
Parliament to review all the Penal Laws, either with relation to Papists, or to Dissenters: but I will take the boldness to add one thing, that the Kings's suspending of Laws strikes at the root of this whole Government, and subverts it quite: for if there is any thing certain with relation to the English Government, it is this, that the Executive Power of the Law is entirely in the King; and the Law to fortify him in the Management of it has clothed him with a vast Prerogative, and made it unlawful upon any pretence whatsoever to resist him: whereas on the other hand, the Legislative Power is not so entirely in the King, but that the Lords and Commons have such a share in it, that no Law can be either made, repealed, or which is all one suspended, but by their consent: so that the placing this Legislative Power singly in the King, is a Subversion of this whole Government; since the Essence of all Governments consists in the Subjects of the Legislative Authority; Acts of Violence or Injustice, committed in the Executive part, are such things that all Princes being subject to them, the peace of mankind were very ill secured if it were not unlawful to resist upon any pretence taken from any ill Administrations, in which as the Law may be doubtful, so the Facts may be uncertain, and at worst the publick Peace must alwayes be more valued than any private Oppressions or Injuries whatsoever. But the total Subversion of a Government, being so contrary to the Trust that is given to the Prince who ought to execute it; will put men upon uneasy and dangerous Inquiries: which will turn little to the Advantage of those who are driving matters to such a doubtful and desperate issue.

VIII. If there is any thing in which the Exercise of the Legislative Power seems indispensable, it is in those Oaths of Allegiance and Tests, that are thought necessary to Qualify men either to be admitted to enjoy the Protection of the Law, or to bear a share in the Government; for in these the Security of the Government is chiefly concerned; and therefore the total extinction

of these, as it is not only a Suspension of them, but a plain repealing of them, so it is a *Subverting* of the whole Foundation of our Government: For the Regulation that King and Parliament had set both for the Subjects having the Protection of the State by the Oath of Allegiance, and for a share in places of trust by the Tests, is now plucked up by the roots; when it is declared, *that these shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken, or subscribed by any persons whatsoever:* for it is plain, that this is no Suspension of the Law, but a formal Repeal of it, in as plain Words as can be conceived.

IX. His Majesty says, that the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects is by the Law of Nature inseparably annexed to and inherent in his Sacred Person. It is somewhat strange, that when so many Laws, that we all know are suspended, the Law of Nature, which is so hard to be found out, should be cited; but the Penners of this Declaration had best let *that Law* lie forgotten among the rest; for there is a scurvy Paragraph in it, concerning self Preservation, that is capable of very unacceptable Glosses. It is hard to tell what Section of the Law of Nature has markt out either such a Form of Government, or such a Family for it. And if His Majesty renounces his Pretensions to our Allegiance as founded on the Laws of England, and betakes himself to this Law of Nature, he will perhaps find the Counsel was a little too rash; but to make the most of this that can be, the Law of Nations or Nature does indeed allow the Governours of all Societies a Power to serve themselves of every Member of it in the cases of extream Danger; but no Law of Nature that has been yet heard of will conclude, that if by special Laws, a sort of men have been disabled from all Employments, that a Prince who at his Coronation Swore to maintain those Laws, may at his pleasure extinguish all these Disabilities.

X. At the end of the Declaration, as in a Postscript, His Majesty assures his Subjects, that he will maintain them in their Properties, as well in Church and Abbey Lands, as other

Lands; but the Chief of all their Properties being the share that they have by their Representatives in the Legislative Power; this Declaration, which breaks thro' that, is no great Evidence that the rest will be maintained: and to speak plainly, when a Coronation Oath is so little remembered, other Promises must have a proportioned degree of Credit given to them: as for the Abbey Lands, the keeping them from the Church is according to the Principles of that Religion Sacrilege; and that is a Mortal Sin, and there can no Absolution be given to any who continue in it: and so this Promise being an Obligation to maintain men in a Mortal Sin, is null and void of it self: Church Lands are also according to the Doctrine of their Canonists, so immediately Gods Rights, that the Pope himself is only the Administrator and Dispencer, but is not the Master of them; he can indeed make a truck for God, or let them so low, that God shall be an easy Landlord; but he cannot alter Gods Property, nor translate the Right that is in him to Sacrilegious Laymen and Heretics.

XI. One of the Effects of this Declaration, will be the setting on foot a new run of Addresses over the Nation: for there is nothing how Impudent and base soever, of which the abject flattery of a Slavish Spirit is not capable. It must be confest, to the reproach of the Age, that all those strains of flattery among the Romans, that Tacitus lets forth with so much just Scorn, are modest things, compared to what this Nation has produced within these seven years: only if our Flattery has come short of the Refinedness of the Romans, it has exceeded theirs as much in its loathed Fulcominess. The late King set out a Declaration, in which he gave the most solemn Assurances possible of his adhering to the Church of England, and to the Religion established by Law, and of his Resolution to have Frequent Parliaments; upon which the whole Nation fell as it were into Raptures of Joy and Flattery: but tho he lived four Years after that, he called no Parliaments, notwithstanding the Law for Triennial Parliaments: and the manner

manner of his *Death*, and the *Papers* printed after his *Death* in his *Name*, have sufficiently shewed, that he was equally sincere in both those *Assurances* that he gave, as well in that Relating to *Religion*, as in that other Relating to Frequent *Parliaments*; yet upon his *Death* a new set of *Addresses* appeared, in which all that *Flattery* could invent was brought forth, in the *Commendations* of a *Prince*, to whose *Memory* the greatest kindness can be done, is to forget him: and because his present *Majesty* upon his coming to the *Throne* gave some very general *Promise* of *Maintaining* the *Church* of *England*, this was magnified in so Extravagant a strain, as if it had been a *Security* greater than any that the *Law* could give: tho, by the regard that the *King* has both to it and to the *Laws*, it appears that he is resolved to maintain both equally: since then the *Nation* has already made it felt sufficiently ridiculous both to the present and to all succeeding *Ages*; it is time that at last men should grow weary, and become ashamed of their *Folly*.

XII. The *Nonconformists* are now invited to set an *Example* to the rest: and they who have valued themselves hitherto upon their *Opposition* to *Papery*, and that have quarrelled with the *Church* of *England*, for some small *Approaches* to it, in a few *Ceremonies*, are now solicited to rejoice, because the *Laws* that secure us against it, are all plucked up: since they enjoy at present and during pleasure leave to meet together. It is natural for all men to love to be let at ease, especially in the matters of their *Consciences*; but it is visible, that those who allow them this favour, do it with no other design, but that under a pretence of a *General Toleration*, they may introduce a *Religion* which must persecute all equally: it is likewise apparent how much they are hated, and how much they have been persecuted by the *Instigation* of those who now Court them, and who have now no game that is more promising, than the engaging them and the *Church* of *England* into new Quarrels: and as for the *Promises* now made to them, it cannot be supposed that they

will be more lasting than those that were made some time ago to the *Church* of *England*, who had both a better Title in *Law* and greater Merit upon the *Crown* to assure them that they should be well used than these can pretend to. The *Nation* has scarce forgiven some of the *Church* of *England* the *Persecution* into which they have suffered themselves to be cozened: tho now that they see *Papery* barefaced, the *Stand* that they have made, and the vigorous *Opposition* that they have given to it, is that which makes all men willing to forget what is past, and raises again the *Glory* of a *Church* that was not a little stained by the *Indiscretion* and *Weakness* of those, that were too apt to believe and hope, and so suffered themselves to be made a *Property* to those who would now make them a *Sacrifice*. The *Sufferings* of the *Nonconformists*, and the *Fury* that the *Popish Party* expressed against them, had recommended them so much to the *Compassions* of the *Nation*, and had given them so just a pretension to favour in a better time, that it will look like a curse of *God* upon them, if a few men, whom the *Court* has gained to betray them, can have such an ill Influence upon them as to make them throw away all that *Merit*, and those *Compassions* which their *Sufferings* have procured them; and to go and court those who are only seemingly kind to them, that they may destroy both them and us. They must remember that as the *Church* of *England* is the only *Establishment* that our *Religion* has by *Law*; so it is the main body of the *Nation*, and all the *Sects* are but small and stragling parties: and if the *Legal Settlement* of the *Church* is dissolved, and that body is once broken, these lesser bodies will be all at *Mercy*: and it is an easy thing to define what the *Mercies* of the *Church* of *Rome* are.

XIII. But tho it must be confessed, that the *Nonconformists* are still under some *Temperations*, to receive every thing that gives them present ease, with a little too much kindness; since they lie exposed to many severe *Laws*, of which they have of late felt the weight very heavily, and as they are men, and some

of them as ill Natured men as other people, so it is no wonder if upon the first surpris of the Declaration, they are a little delighted, to see the Church of England, after all its Services and Submissions to the Court, so much mortified by it; so that taking all together it will not be strange if they commit some Follies upon this occasion. Yet on the other hand, it passes all imagination, to see some of the Church of England, especially those whose Natures we know are so particularly sharpened in the point of Persecution, chiefly when it is belied against the Dissenters, rejoice at this Declaration, and make Addresses upon it. It is hard to think that they have attained to so high a pitch of Christian Charity, as to thank those who do now *despitefully use them*, and that as an earnest that within a little while they will persecute them. This will be an Original, and a Master piece in Flattery, which must needs draw the last degrees of Contempt on such as are capable of so abject and sordid a Compliance, and that not only from all the true Members of the Church of England, but likewise from those of the Church of Rome it self; for every man is apt to esteem an Enemy that is brave even in his Misfortunes, as much as he despises those whose minds sink with their Condition. For what is it that these men would thank the King? Is it because he breaks those Laws that are made in their Favour, and for their Protection: and is now striking at the Root of all the Legal Settlement that they have for their Religion? Or is it because that at the same time that the King professes a Religion that condemns his Supremacy, yet he is not contented with the Exercise of it as it is warranted by Law, but carries it so far as to erect a Court contrary to the express words of a Law that was so lately made: That Court takes care to maintain a due proportion between their Constitution and all their proceedings, that so all may be of a piece, and all equally contrary to Law. They have suspended one Bishop, only because he would not do that which was not in his Power to do: for since there is no Extrajudiciary Authority in England, a Bishop can no more proceed to a Sentence

(7)  
of Suspension against a Clergy-man without a Tryal, and the hearing of Parties, than a Judge can give a Sentence in his Chamber without an Indictment, a Tryal, or a Jury: and because one of the Greatest Bodies of England would not break their Oaths, and obey a Mandate that plainly contradicted them, we see to what a pitch this is like to be carried. I will not Anticipate upon this illegal Court, to tell what judgments are coming, but without carrying our lealousies too far, one may safely conclude, that they will never depart so far from their first Institution, as to have any regard, either to our Religion, or our Laws, or Liberties, in any thing they do. If all this were acted by avowed Popists, as we are sure it is projected by such, there were nothing Extraordinary in it: but that which carries our Indignation a little too far to be easily governed, is to see some Pretended Protestants, and a few Bishops, among those that are the fatal Instruments of pulling down the Church of England, and that those Mercenaries Sacrifice their Religion and their Church to their Ambition and Interests; this has such peculiar Characters of Misfortune upon it, that it seems it is not enough if we perish without pity, since we fall by that hand that we have so much supported and fortified, but we must become the Scorn of all the world since we have produced such an unnatural Brood, that even while they are pretending to be the Sons of the Church of England, are cutting their Mother's Throat: and not content with Judas's Crime, of saying, Hail Master, and kissing him, while they are betraying him into the hands of others; these carry their Wickedness further, and say, Hail Mother, and then they themselves Murder her. If after all this we were called on to bear this as Christians, and to suffer it as Subjects; if we were required in Patience to possess our own Souls, and to be in Charity with our Enemies; and which is more, to forgive our False Brethren, who add Treachery to their Hatred; the Exhortation were reasonable, and indeed a little necessary, for humane Nature cannot easily take down things of such a hard digestion: but to tell in

that we must make *Addreses*, and offer *Thanks* for all this, is to insult a little too much upon our Sufferings: and he that can believe that a dry and caustically worded *promise* of maintaining the Church of England, will be religiously observed after all that we have seen, and is upon that carried so far out of his Wits as to *Address* and give *Thanks*; and will believe still, such a man has nothing to excuse him from believing *Transubstantiation* of itself; for it is plain that he can bring himself to believe even when the thing is contrary to the clearest Evidence that his senses can give him.

*Si populus hic vult decipi decipiatur.*

## POSTSCRIPT.

**T**hese reflections were writ soon after the Declaration came to my hands, but the Master of them was so tender, and the Conveyance of them to the Press was so uneasy, that they appear now too late to have one effect that was Designed by them, which was, the diverting men from making *Addreses* upon it; yet if what is here proposed makes men become so far wise as to be ashamed of what they have done, and is a mean to keep them from carrying their Courtship further than good words, this Paper will not come too late.

F I N I S.



(1)  
An ANSWER

To Mr. Henry Payne's

LETTER,

Concerning His Majesty's

DECLARATION of INDULGENCE,

Writ to the *Author of the Letter to A Dissenter.*

MR. PAYNE,

Gilbert Burnet

**I** Cannot hold asking you, how much *Money* you had, from the *Writer of the Paper*, which you pretend to *Answer*: for as you have the character of a man that deals with both hands, so this is writ in such a manner as to make one think you were hired to it, by the *Adverse Party*: but it has been indeed so ordinary to your Friends, to write in this manner of late, that the *Censures* upon it are divided, both fall heavy: some suspect their *Sincerity* others accuse them for want of a right Understanding: for tho all are not of the pitch of the *Irish Priests* Reflections, on the *Bp of Bath and Wells's* Sermon, which was indeed *Irish* double refined; yet both in your Books of Controversy, and Policy, and even in your *Poems*, you seem to have entred into such an intermixture with the *Irish*, that the thread all over is *Linsley-woolsey*. You acknowledge that the Gentleman whom you answer has a *Polite Pen*, and that his *Letter is an Ingenious paper*, and made up of well-Composed Sentences and Periods. Yet I believe he will hardly return you your Complement. If it was well writ, your Party wants either Men or Judgment extremely, in allowing you this province of answering it. If the *Paper* did you some hurt, you had better have let the Town be a little pleased with it for a while; and have hoped that a little time or some new paper (tho one of its force is scarce to be expected) should have worn it out, then to give it a new luster by such an *Answer*.

The Time of the *Dissenters* Sufferings, which you lengthen out to 27 years, will hardly amount to seven. For the long Intervals it had, in the last Reign, are not forgot: and those who animated the latest and severest of their sufferings are such, that in good manners you ought not to reflect on their Conduct. *Opium* is as certain a poison, tho not so violent, as *Sublimate*; and if more corrosive Medicines did not work, the *Design* is the same, when *soporiferous* ones are used: since the Patient is to be killed both ways: and it seems that all that is in debate is, which is the safer: the accepting a present ease when the ill intent with which it is offered, is Visible, is just as wise an

action, as to take *Opium* to lay a small Distemper when one may conclude from the *dose*, that he will never come out of the Sleep. So that after all, it is plain on which side the *Madness* lies. The *Dissenters* for a little present ease, to be enjoyed at Mercy, must concur to break down all our hedges, and to lay us open to that Devouring Power, before which nothing can stand that will not worship it.

All that for which you reproach the *Church of England* amounts to this, that a few good words, could not persuade her to destroy her self; and to Sacrifice her *Religion* and the *Laws* to a party that never has done nor ever can do the *King* half the service that she has rendered him. There are some sorts of propositions that a man does not know how to answer; nor would he be thought Ingratefull who after he had received some Civilities from a person to whom he had done great service, could not be prevailed with by these so far as to spare him his Wife or his Daughter. It must argue a peculiar degree of confidence to ask things, that are above the being either askt or granted. Our *Religion* and our *Government* are matters that are not to be parted with to shew our good breeding: and of all men living you ought not to pretend to *Good Manners*, who talk as you do, of the Oppression of the last *Reign*. When the *King's* Obligations to his *Brother*, and the share that he had in his *Councils*, are considered; the reproaching his *Government*, has so ill a grace, that you are as Indecent in your Flatteries as Injurious in your Reflections. And by this gratitude of yours to the Memory of the late *King*, the *Church of England* may easily Infer, how long all her Services would be remembred, even if she had done all that was desired of her.

I would fain know which of the *Brethren of the Dissenters in forreigne Countries sought their Relief from Rebellion*. The *Germans* Reformed by the Authority of their *Princes*, so did the *Swedes*, the *Danes*, and like wise the *Swissers*. In *France* they maintained the *Princes of the Blood* against the *League*: and in *Holland* the Quarrell was for *Civil liberties*; Protestant and Papist concurring equally in it. You mention *Holland* as an Instance that *Liberty* and *Infallibility* can dwell together: since *Papists* there shew that they can be friendly neighbours, to those whom they think in the wrong: It is very like they would be still so in *England*, if they were under the lash of the law, and so were upon their good behaviour, the Government being still against them: and this has so good an effect in *Holland*, that I hope we shall never depart from the *Dutch* Pattern: some can be very Humble Servants that would prove Imperious Masters. You say that *Force* is our only *Supporter*: but tho there is no force of our side at present, it does not appear that we are in such a tottering condition, as if we had no *Supporter* left us. *God* and *Truth* are of our side: and the indiscreet use of *Force*, when set on by our Enemies, has rather undermined than supported us. But you have taken pains to make us grow wiser, and to let us see our Errors, which is perhaps the only obligation that we owe you; and we are so sensible of it, that without examining what your Intentions may have been in it, we heartily thank you for it.

I do not comprehend what your quarrell is at the *Squinting Term* of the next heir, as you call it; tho I do not wonder that *squinting* comes in your mind whensoever you think of *HER*; for all people look *asquint* at that which troubles them: and

her

her being the *next heir* is no less the *delight* of all good men, than it is your *affliction*: all the pains that you take to represent *her* dreadful to the *Dissenters*, must needs find that credit with them, that is due to the *Insinuations* of an *Enemy*. It is very true, that as *she* was bred up in our *Church*, she adheres to it so *Eminently*, as to make *her* to be now our *chief Ornament* as we hope she will be once our *main Defence*. If by the *strictest form* of our *Church* you mean an *Exemplary Piety*, and a *shining Conversion*, you have given *her* true *Character*: But your design lies another way to make the *Dissenters* form strange Ideas of *her*, as if she thought *all Indulgence* to them *Criminal*: But as the *Gentleness* of *her* nature is such, that none but those who are so guilty, that all mercy to them would be a *Crime*, can apprehend any thing that is terrible, from *her*, so as for the *Dissenters*, *her* going so constantly to the *Dutch* and *French Churches* shews, that she can very well endure their *Assemblies*, at the same time that she prefers, ours. *She* has also too often expressed her dislike at the heats that have been kept up among us concerning such *Inconsiderable Differences*, to pass for a *Bigor* or a *persecutor* in such matters: and *She* sees both the mischief that the *Protestant Religion* has received from their subdivisions, and the happiness of granting a *due Liberty of Conscience*, where she has so long lived, that there is no reason to make any fancy: that she will either keep up our *Differences*, or bear down the *Dissenters* with *Rigor*. But because you hope for nothing from *her* own *Inclinations*, you would have *her* terrified with the *strong Argument of Numbers*, which you fancy will certainly *secure them from her recalling the favour*. But of what side soever that *Argument* may be *strong*, sure it is not of *theirs* who make but *one to Two hundred*: and I suppose you scarce expect that the *Dissenters* will rebel, that you may have your *Masses*, and how their numbers will *secure them*, unless it be by enabling them to *Rebell*, I cannot Imagine: this is indeed a *squinting* at the *Next Heir*, with a witness, when you would already muster up the *Troops* that must rise against *her*. But let me tell you, that you know both *Her Character* and the *Prince's* very ill that fancy, they are only to be wrought on by *Fear*. *They* are known to your great grief; to be above that: and it must be to their own *Mercifull Inclinations*, that you must owe all that you can expect under them, but neither to their *fear* nor to your own *Numbers*. As for the *hatred and Contempt*, even to the degree of being more *Ridiculous* than the *Mass* under which you say *Her way of Worship* is in *Holland*, this is one of those figures of speech that shew how exactly you have Studied the *Jesuites Morals*. All that come from *Holland*, assure us, that she is so *Universally beloved* and esteemed there, that every thing that she does, is the better thought of even because *she* does it. Upon the whole matter, all that you say of the *Next Heir*, proves too truly that you are that for which you reproach the *Church of England*, a *Disciple* of the *Crown* only for *the loaves*, for if you had that respect which you pretend for the *King*, you would have shewed it more upon this occasion.

Not am I so much in love with your *style*, as to imitate it, therefore I will not do you so great a pleasure, as to say the least thing that may reflect on that *Authority*, which the *Church of England* has taught me to reverence even after all the *Disgraces* that

that she has received from it: and if she were not Insuperably restrained by her Principles, instead of the *Thin Mustler* with which you reproach her, she could soon make so *thick* a one as would make the *Thinness* of yours, very visible upon to unequall a division of the Nation: But she will neither be threatened nor laughed out of her Religion and her loyalty: tho such insultings as she meets with, that almost pass all humane Patience, would tempt men that had a less fixed principle of submission, to make their Enemies feel to their cost, that they owe all the Triumphs they make, more to *our Principles*, than to their own Force. Their laughing at *our Doctrine of non resistance*, lets us see, that it would be none of *theirs* under the *Next Heir*, at whom you *Squint*, if the *strong Argument of Numbers* made you not apprehend that *Two Hundred to one* would prove an Unequal Match.

As for your *Memorandums*, I shall answer them as short as you give them

1. It will be hard, to persuade people, that a Decision in favour of the *Dispensing Power*, flowing from *Judges* that are both *made*, and *payed*, and that may be *removed at pleasure*, will amount to the *recognising of that Right by law*.

2. It will be hard to persuade the world, that the *Kings* adhering to his *Promises*, and his *Coronation Oath*, and to the known *Lawes* of the land, would make him *Felo de se*. The following of different methods were the likelier way to it, if it were not for the *Loyalty of the Church of England*.

3. It will be very easy to see the use of continuing the *Test by Law*; since all those that break thro it, as well as the *Judges*, who have authorized their Crimes, are still liable for all they do: and after all your *buffing*, with the *Dispensing Power*, we do not doubt but the apprehension of an after reckoning sticks deep somewhere, you say, *it may be supposed, that the aversion of a Protestant King to the Popish party, will sufficiently exclude them, even without the Test*. But it must be confessed, that you take all possible care, to confirm that *Aversion* so far, as to put it beyond a *it may be supposed*. And it seems you understand *Christs Prerogative*, as well as the *Judges* did the *Kings*; that fancy the *Test* is against it: it is so suteable to the nature of all *Governments*, to take *Assurances of those* who are admitted to *Places of Trust*, that you do very ill to appeal to an *Impartial consideration*, for you are sure to lose it there.

Few *English men*, will believe you in earnest when you seem zealous for publick liberty, or the *Magna Charta*: or that you are so very apprehensive of *Slavery*: And your Friends must have very much changed both their Natures and their Principles, if *their conduct does not give cause to renew the like Statutes against them*, even tho they should be repealed in this *Reign*, notwithstanding all your confidence to the contrary. I will still believe that the *strong Argument of Numbers* will be always the power-fullest of all others with you: which as long as it has its Force, and no longer, we may hope to be at quiet. I concur heartily with you in your Prayers for the *King*, tho perhaps I differ from you in my Notions, both of his *Glory* and of the *Felicity of his People*: and as for your own particular, I wish you would either not at all Employ your Pen, or learn to write to better purpose: but tho I cannot admire your Letter, yet I am

YOUR HUMBLE SERVANT

T. T.

(1)  
T H E  
EARLE of MELFORT'S LETTER  
To the  
Presbyterian-Ministers  
IN  
S C O T L A N D.

LIBRARY OF THE  
UNION  
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY  
NEW YORK

Writ in his Majesty's Name upon their Address;  
Together with some Remarks upon it.

The Earle of Melfort's Letter.

Gentlemen;

**I** Am commanded by his Majesty, to signify unto you his gracious acceptance of your Address, that he is well satisfied with your Loyalty expressed therein; for the which he resolves to perpetuate the favour, not only during his own Reign, but also to lay down Ways for its Continuance, and that by appointing in the next ensuing Parliament the taking off all Penal Statutes contrary to the Liberty or Toleration granted by him.

His Majesty knows, that Enemies to Him, to You, and this Toleration, will be using all Endeavours to infringe the same; but as ever the Happiness of his Subjects Standing in Liberty of Conscience, and the Security of their Properties (next the Glory of God) hath been his Majesty's great end, so he intends to continue, if he have all suitable Encouragement and Concurrence from you in your Doctrine and Practices, and therefore as he hath taken away the Protestant Penal Statutes lying on you, and herein has walked contrary not only to other Catholick Kings, but also in a way different from Protestant Kings who have gone before him, whose Maxime was to undo you, by Fining, Confining, and

taking away your Estates, and to harass you in your Persons, Liberties and Priviledges; so he expects a thankful acknowledgment from you, by making your Doctrine tend, to cause all his Subjects to walk obediently, and by your Practice walking so as shall be most pleasing to his Majesty, and thereby concurring with him for the removing these Penal Statutes: and he further expects that you continue your Prayers to God for his long and happy Reign, and for all Blessings on his Person and Government; and likewise that you look well to your Doctrine, and that your Example be influential: all these are his Majesty's Commands.

Sic sub.

MELFORT.

REMARKS.

**T**He Secretary hand is known to all the Writing Masters of the Town; but here is an Essay of the Secretary's Style for the Masters of our Language: This is an Age of Improvements, and Men that come very young into Employments, make commonly a great progress; therefore common things are not to be expected here: it is true, some Roughnesses in the

A  
Stile



*Stile* seem to intimate that the Writer could turn his *Conscience* more easily than he can do his Pen, and that the one is a little stiffer and less compliant than the other. He tells the *Addressees*, that *His Majesty is well satisfied with their Loyalty contained in their Address; for the which he resolves to perpetuate the favour.* It appears that the *Secretary Stile* and the *Notary Stile* come nearer one another than was generally believed: *For the which here, & infringe the same* afterwards, are beauties borrowed from the *Notary Stile*: the *fore said* is not much couler. The King's *perpetuating the Favour* is no easy thing, unless he could first *perpetuate himself*: Now tho' his Majesty's Fame will be certainly *immortal*, yet to our great Regret his Person is *mortal*; so it is hard to conceive, how this *perpetuity* should be settled.

The Method here proposed is a new Figure of the *Secretary Stile*: which is the *Appointing in the next ensuing Parliament the taking off all Penal Laws.* All former *Secretaries* used the modest Words of *proposing or recommending*; but he who in a former *Essay* of this *Stile*, told us of his Majesty's *Absolute Power*, to which all the Subjects are to obey without reserve, furnishes us now with this new term of the King's appointing what shall be done in *Parliaments*. But what if after all, the *Parliament* proves so stubborn, as not to comply with this *Appointment*, I am afraid then the *Perpetuity* will be of a short continuance. He in the next place, mentions the *Liberty or Toleration* granted by the King. *Liberty* is not so hard a Word, but that it might be understood without this Explanation or *Toleration*, unless the *Secretary Stile* either approaches to the *Notary Stile* in some nauseous Repetitions, or that he would intimate by this, that all the *Liberty* that is left the Subjects is comprehended in this *Toleration*. And indeed, after *Absolute Power* was once asserted, it was never fit to name *Liberty* without some restriction. After this comes a stately Period, *The Enemies to him, to you, and to this Toleration.* Yet I should be sorry if it were true; for I hope there are many *Enemies to this To-*

*leration*, who are neither *Enemies* to the King, nor to these *Addressees*; and that on the contrary they are *Enemies* to it, because they are the *best Friends* that both the King and the People have. It is now no secret, that tho' both the Prince and Princess of Orange are great *Enemies to Persecution*, and in particular to all Rigour against the *Presbyterians*, yet they are not satisfied with the way in which this *Toleration* is granted. But the reckoning of them as *Enemies* either to the King or the People, is one of the Figures of this *Stile*, that will hardly pass; and some will not stick to say, that the Writer of this *Letter*, has with this dash of his Pen, declared more *Men Enemies* to the King, than ever he will be able to make *Friends* to him. He tells them next, that these *Enemies* will be using all *endeavours to infringe the same*. This is also a strong Expression. We know the use of the *Notary Infraction*, but *Infringe* is borrowed from the *Notaries*; yet the plain sense of this seems to be, that those *Enemies* will disturb the *Meeting*, of which I do not hear any of them have the least thought, yet by a secret Figure of the *Secretary Stile*, perhaps this belongs to all those who either think that the King cannot do it by Law, or that will not give their Vote to confirm it in *Parliament*: but I am not so well acquainted with all the Mysteries of this *Stile*, as to know its full depth.

There comes next a long period of 50 words, for I was at the pains to count them all, which seemed a little too prolix for so short a letter, especially in one that writes after the French pattern. But as ever the *Happiness of his Subjects, Standing in Liberty of Conscience, and the Security of their Properties, next the Glory of God, hath been his Majesty's great End*; So he intends to continue, if he have all *suitable Encouragement and Concurrence from you, in your Doctrine and Practice*. The putting ever at the beginning of the Period, and at so great a Distance from that to which it belongs, is a new beauty of *Stile*. And the *Standing* of this *Happiness*, makes me reflect on that which I hear a Scotch Preacher

desi-

delivered in a *Sermon*, that he doubted this *Liberty* would prove but like a *Standing Drink*. The *King's* receiving *suitable Encouragement* from his *Subjects*, agrees ill with the height of *Stile* that went before, of appointing what the *Parliament* must do. *Kings* receive returns of *Duty* and *Obedience* from their *Subjects*; but hitherto *Encouragement* was a word used among *Equals*: the applying it to the *King*, is a new figure. A man not versed in the *Secretary Stile* would have expressed this matter thus. *His Majesty* has ever made the *Happiness* of his *Subjects*, which consists in *Liberty of Conscience*, and the *Security of Property*, his great end, next to the *Glory of God*: and he intends to do so still; if he receives all suitable returns from you in your *Doctrine* and *practise*. I have marked this the more particularly, to make the difference between the *Common* and the *Secretary Stile* the more sensible. But what need is there of the *Concurrence* of the *Addressers*, with the *King*, if he appoints the next *Parliament* to take off all the *Penal Laws*. Must we likewise believe that *His Majesty's* Zeal for the *Happiness* of his *Subjects*, depends on the Behaviour of These *Addressers*: and on the *Encouragement* that he receives from them, so that he will not continue it, unless they *Encourage* him in it. This is but an *Uncertain* tenure, and not like to be *perpetual*. But after all the *Secretary Stile* is not the *Royal Stile*, so notwithstanding this beautiful Period, we hope our *Happiness* is more steady, than to turn upon the *Encouragements* of a few Men: otherwise if it is a *standing Happiness* yet it is a very tottering one. The *Protestant Penal Statutes*, is another of his *Elegancies*: for since all the *Penal Laws* as well those against *Papists*, as those against *Dissenters*, were made by *Protestant Parliaments*, one does not see how fitly this Epithete comes in here; another would have worded this, thus, the *Penal Statutes* made against *Protestants*. But the *new Stile* has figures peculiar to it self, that pass in the *Common Stile* for *Improprieties*.

This Noble Lord is not contented to raise

*His Majesty's* *Glory* above all other *Catholic Kings*, in this grant of *Liberty or Toleration*, in which there is no competition to be made; for tho the Most *Christian King*, who is the *Eldersson* of that *Church*, has indeed executed her *Orders* in their full extent of severity, yet *His Majesty*, who is but the *Cadet* in that *Church's* *Catalogue of honour*, it seems does not think that he is yet so much beholding to his *Mother* as to gratify her by the Destruction of his *People*: yet I say, as if this were too little, the *King's* *Glory* is here carried farther, even above the *Protestant Kings*, who have gone before him: whose *Maxime* was to undo you, by *Fining*, *Confining* and *raising away your Estates*, and so *barra*st you in your *Persons*, *Liberties* and *Priviledges*. Here is an honour that is done the *King's* *Ancestors* by one of his *Secretaries*, which is indeed new, and of his own *Invention*: the *Protestant Kings* can be no other than the *Kings* *Brother*, his *Father*, and his *Grandfather*. *Kings* shut out *Q. Elizabeth*, who might have been brought in if the more general term of *Crowned heads* had been made use of; but as the *Writer* has ordered it, the *satyr* falls singly on the *King's* *Progenitors*: for the *Papers* that were found in the *Strong Box*, will go near to put the late *King* out of the list of *Protestant Kings*: so that this *Reproach* lies wholly on the *King's* *Father* and his *Grandfather*. It is a little surprising, after all the *Eloquence* that has been *Employed* to raise the *Character* of the late *Martyr* to so high a pitch, that one of his *Sons* *Secretaries* should set it under his hand in a letter that he pretends is written by the *King's* *Commands*, that he made it a *Maxime* to undo his *People*. The *Writer* of this Letter should have avoided the mentioning of *finer*, since it is not so long, since both He and his *Brother* valued themselves on a point that they carried in the *Council of Scotland*, that *Husbands* should be fined for their *Wives* not going to *Church*, tho it was not founded on any Law. And of all Men

living

living he ought to be the last that should speak of the taking away Estates; who got a very fair one during the present Reign, by an *Act of Parliament*, that Attainted a Gentleman in a Method as new as his *Stile* is; Upon this ground, that two *Privy Councillours* declared, they believed him guilty. He will hardly find among all the *Maxims* of these Protestant Persecuting Kings any one that will justify this.

It seems the *New Stile* is not very Copious in Words, since *Doctrine* is three times repeated in so short a Letter: He tells them, that their *Doctrine* must tend to cause all the Subjects to walk obediently; now by obediently in this *Stile*, is to obey the Absolute Power Without reserve; for to obey according to Law, would pass now for a Crime: this being then his meaning, it is probable that the Encouragements which are necessary to make His Majesty continue the happiness of his Subjects, will not be so very great, as to Merit the perpetuating this favour. There is with this a heavy charge laid upon them as to their practice; that it must be such as shall be most pleasing to His Majesty; for certainly that can only be by their turning *Papists*: since a *Prince* that is so zealous for his Religion, as His Majesty is, cannot be so well pleased with any other thing as with this. Their concurring with the King to remove the Penal Laws, comes over again, for tho Repetitions are Impertinencies in the *Common Stile*, they are Flowers in the new one.

In Conclusion, he tells them, that the King expects, that they will continue their prayers for him; yet this does not agree too well with a *Catholic* Zeal: for the pra-

yers of *Damned Hereticks* cannot be worth the asking; for the third time he tells them to look well to their *Doctrine*: now this is a little ambiguous; for it may either signify, that they should study the Controversies well, so as to be able to defend their *Doctrine* solidly, or that they should so mince it, that nothing may fall from them in their Sermons against *Papery*; this will be indeed a looking to their *Doctrine*; but I do not know whether it will be thought a looking well to it or not. He adds, that their Example be Influential: I confess this hard new Word frighted me: I suppose the meaning of it is, that their practice may be such as that it may have an Influence on others: yet there are both good and bad Influences, a good Influence will be the animating the people to a Zeal for their Religion; and a bad one will be the slackning and softning of that Zeal. A little more Clearness here had not been amiss.

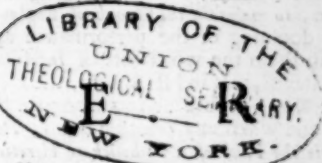
As for the last Words of this Letter; that all these are his Majesty's Commands; it is very hard for me to bring my self to believe them. For certainly he has more Piety for the Memory of the late Martyr, and more regard both to himself, to his children, and to his people, than to have ever given any such commands.

In order to the communicating this Piece of Elegance to the World, I with the Translating it into French were recommended to Mr. d'Albeville: that it may appear whether the *Secretary Stile* will look better in his Irish French, than it does now in the Scotch English of him who penne dit.

## A N S W E R

P A P

To A



Printed with Allowance,

Entitled,

*A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty.*

By Gilbert Burnet.

1687

**T**He Accusing the Church of England of Want of Loyalty, or the putting it to a new Test, after so fresh a one, with relation to His Majesty, argues a high degree of Confidence in him who undertakes it. *She* knew well what were the Doctrines and Practices of those of the Roman Church, with Relation to Hereticks; and yet *She* was so true to her Loyalty, that *She* shut her eyes on all the Temptations, that so just a fear could raise in her: and *She* set her self to support His Majesties Right of Succession, with so much Zeal, that *She* thereby not only put her self in the power of her Enemies; but *She* has also exposed her self to the Scorn of those who insult over her in her Misfortune. *She* lost the Affections even of many of her own Children; who thought that her Zeal for an Interest, which was then so much decry'd, was a little too fervent: and all those who judged severely of the proceedings, thought that the Opposition which *She* made to the side that then went so high, had more Heat than Decency in it. And indeed all this

was so very Extraordinary, that if *She* was not acted by a principle of Conscience, *She* could make no Excuse for her conduct. There appeared such peculiar Marks of Affectation and Heartiness, at every time that the Duke was named, whether in Drinking his Health, or upon graver Occasions, that it seemed affected: and when the late King himself (whose Word they took that he was a Protestant) was spoke of but coldly, the very Name of the Duke set her Children all on fire; this made many conclude, that they were ready to Sacrifice all to him; for indeed their behaviour was inflamed with so much Heat, that the greater part of the Nation believed they waited for a fit opportunity to declare themselves. Faith in Jesus Christ was not a more frequent Subject of the Sermons of many, than Loyalty; and the Rights of the Succession to the Crown, the Heat that appeared in the Pulpit, and the Learning that was in their Books on these Subjects, and the Eloquent Strains that were in their Addresses, were all Originals; and made the World conclude, that whatever might be

aid to their charge, they should never be accused of any want of *Loyalty*, at least in this *King's* time, while the remembrance of so signal a service was so fresh. When His Majesty came to the *Crown*, these men did so entirely depend on the Promise that he made, *to maintain the Church of England*, that the doubting of the performance appeared to them the worst sort of *Infidelity*. They believed, that in His Majesty, the *Hero*, and the *King*, would be too strong for the *Papist*: and when any one told them, *How weak a tie the Faith of a Catholick to Hereticks must needs be*, they could not hearken to this with any patience; but looked on His Majesty's Promise as a thing so Sacred, that they employ'd their Interest to carry all *Elections of Parliament-Men*, for those that were recommended by the *Court*, with so much Vigour, that it laid them open to much Censure. In *Parliaments* they moved for no *Laws* to secure their Religion; but assuring themselves, that *Honour* was the *Kings Idol*, they laid hold on it, and fancied, that a publick reliance on his *Word*, would give them an Interest in his Majesty, that was Generous, and more suteable to the Nobleness of a Princely Nature than any new *Laws* could be: so that they acquiesced in it, and gave the *King* a vast *Revenue* for Life: In the Rebellion that followed, they shewed with what Zeal they adhered to His Majesty, even against a Pretender that declared for them. And in the Session of *Parliament*, which came after that, they shewed their disposition to assist the *King* with new *Supplies*; and were willing to excuse and indemnify all that was past; only they desired with all possible Modesty, that the *Laws* which His Majesty had both Promised, and at his Coronation had *Sworn* to maintain, might be executed. Here is their Crime, which has raised all this Outcry: They did not move for the Execution of Severe or Penal *Laws*, but were willing to let those sleep, till it might appear by the behaviour of the *Papists*, whether they might deserve that there should be any Mi-

tigation made of them in their Favour. Since that time, our *Church-men* have been constant in mixing their Zeal for their Religion against *Popery*, with a Zeal for *Loyalty* against *Rebellion*, because they think these two are very well consistent one with another. It is true, they have generally expressed an unwillingness to part with the *two Tests*; because they have no mind to must the keeping of their Throats to those who they believe will cut them: and they have seen nothing in the conduct of the *Papists*, either within or without the Kingdom, to make them grow weary of the *Laws* for their sakes; and the same principle of common sense, which makes it so hard for them to believe *Transubstantiation*, makes them conclude, that the *Author* of this Paper, and his *Friends*, are no other, than what they bear, and see, and know them to be.

II. One Instance in which the *Church of England* shewed her Submission to the *Court*, was, that as soon as the *Nonconformists* had drawn a new Storm upon themselves, by their meddling in the matter of the *Exclusion*, many of her Zealous *Members* went into that Prosecution of them, which the *Court* set on foot, with more Heat, than was perhaps either justifiable in it self, or reasonable in those Circumstances; but how censurable soever some angry men may be, it is somewhat strange to see those of the *Church of Rome* blame us for it, which has decreed such unrelenting Severities against all that differ from her, and has enacted that not only in *Parliaments* but even in *General Councils*. It must needs sound oddly to hear the Sons of a *Church*, that must destroy all *abbess* as soon as it can compass it, yet complain of the Excesses of *Fines* and *Imprisonments*, that have been of late among us. But if this Reproach seems a little strange when it is in the Mouth of a *Papist*, it is yet much more provoking, when it comes from any of the *Court*. Were not all the *Orders* for the late Severity sent from thence? Did not the *Judges* in every Cir-



ent, and the Favourite *Justices of Peace* in every Session, employ all their Eloquence on this Subject? The Directions that were given to the *Justices* and the *Grand Jurors* were all repeated Aggravations of this Matter: and a little *Ordinary Lawyer*, without any other visible Merit, but an Outragious Fury in those Matters, on which he has chiefly valued himself, was of a sudden taken into His Majesty's special Favour, and raised up to the *Highest Posts* of the Law. All these things, led some of our Obedient *Clergy*, to look on it as a piece of their Duty to the King, to encourage that *Severity*, of which the Court seemed so fond, that almost all People thought, they had let it up for a *Maxime*, from which they would never depart. I will not pretend to excuse all that has been done of late years: but it is certain, that the most crying *Severities* have been acted by persons that were raised up to be *Judges* and *Magistrates* for that very end: they were *Instructed*, *Trusted*, and *Reward*ed for it, both in the last and under the present Reign. *Church-preferences* were distributed, rather as *Recompences* of this devouring Zeal, than of a real Merit; and men of more moderate Tempers were not only ill lookt at, but ill used. So that it is in itself very unreasonable to throw the load of the late Rigour on the *Church of England*, without distinction: but it is worse than in good manners it is fit to call it, if this Reproach comes from the Court. And it is somewhat unbecoming to see that, which was set on at one time, disown'd at another; while yet he that was the *Chief Instrument* in it is still in so high a post; and begins now to treat the Men of the *Church of England*, with the same *Brutal Excesses*, that he bestowed so lately and so liberally on the *Dissenters*; as if his design were to render himself equally odious to all Mankind.

III. The *Church of England* may justly expostulate when she is treated as *Sedition*, after she has rendered the highest Services to the *Civil Authority*, that any *Church* now

(3)

on Earth has done: She has beaten down all the Principles of *Rebellion*, with more Force and Learning, than any Body of men has ever yet done; and has run the hazard of enraging her Enemies, and losing her Friends, even for those, from whom the more learned of her Members knew well what they might expect. And since our *Autor* likes the figure of a *Snake in one's Bosom* so well; I could tell him, that according to the *Apologue*, we took up and sheltered an Interest, that was almost Dead, and by that warmth gave it Life, which yet now with the *Snake in the Bosom*, is like to bite us to Death. We do not say, we are the only *Church* that has Principles of *Loyalty*; but this we may say, that we are the *Church* in the World that carries them the highest; as we know a *Church* that of all others sinks them the lowest. We do not pretend that we are *Inerrable* in this point, but acknowledge that some of our *Clergy* miscarried in it upon *King Edwards* Death: Yet at the same time, others of our Communion adhered more steadily to their *Loyalty*, in favour of *Queen Mary*, than She did to the *Protestants* that she made to them. Upon this Subject our *Autor* by his false Quotation of *History*, forces me to set the *Reader* right, which if it proves to the disadvantage of his Cause, his Friends may thank him for it. I will not enter into so tedious a digression as the justifying *Queen Elizabeths* being Legitimate, and the throwing the *Basfardy* on *Queen Mary* must carry me to; this I will only say, that it was made out, that according to the best sort of *Arguments* used by the *Church of Rome*, I mean the constant Tradition of all Ages, *King Henry the VIII.* marrying with *Queen Katherine*, was incestuous, and by Consequence *Queen Mary* was the *Basfard*, and *Queen Elizabeth* was the *Legitimate issue*. But our *Autor* not satisfied with defaming *Queen Elizabeth*, tells us, that the *Church of England* was no sooner set up by her, than She enacted those *Bloody Criminal Laws*, to Hang, Draw and Quarter the *Priests* of the *Living God*: But since these *Laws* dis-

And him so much, what does he think of the *Laws of Burning the poor Servants of the Living God*, because they cannot give *Divine Worship* to that which they believe to be only a *Piece of Bread*? The Representation he gives of this part of our History, is so false, that tho' upon *Queen Elizabeth's* coming to the *Crown*, there were many Complaints exhibited of the Illegal Violences that *Bonner* and other Butchers had committed, yet all these were stifled, and no *Penal Laws* were enacted against those of that *Religion*. The *Popish Clergy* were indeed turned out; but they were well used, and had Pensions assigned them; so ready was the *Queen* and our *Church* to forgive what was past, and to shew all Gentleness for the future. During the first thirteen years of her *Reign*, matters went on calmly, without any sort of Severity on the account of *Religion*. But then the restless spirit of that Party, began to throw the Nation into violent Convulsions. The *Pope* deposed the *Queen*, and one of the Party had the Impudence to post up the *Bull* in *London*; upon this followed several *Rebellions*, both in *England* and *Ireland*, and the *Papists* of both *Kingdoms* entered into Confederacies with the *King of Spain* and the *Court of Rome*; the *Priests* disposed all the *People* that depended on them, to submit to the *Popes* Authority in that *Deposition*, and to reject the *Queens*: These endeavours, besides open *Rebellions*, produced many Secret Practices against her Life. All these things gave the rise to the severe *Laws*, which began not to be enacted before the twentieth year of her *Reign*. A *War* was formed by the *Bull of Deposition*, between the *Queen* and the *Court of Rome*, so it was a necessary Piece of Precaution, to declare all those to be Traitors who were the *Missionaries* of that Authority which had stript the *Queen* of hers: yet those *Laws* were not executed upon some *Secular Priests*, who had the Honesty to condemn the *Deposing Doctrine*. As for the *Unhappy Deaib* of the *Queen of Scotland*, it was brought on by the wicked Practices of her own

Party, who fatally Involved her in some of them; She was but a *Subject* here in *England*; and if the *Queen* took a more Violent way, than was decent for her own Security, here was no *Disloyalty* nor *Rebellion* in the *Church of England*, which owed her no sort of *Allégeance*.

IV. I do not pretend that the *Church of England* has any great cause to value herself upon her Fidelity to *King Charles the First*, tho' our *Author* would have it pass for the only thing of which She can boast: for I confess, the cause of the *Church* was so twisted with the *King's*, that Interest and Duty went together: tho I will not go so far as our *Author*, who says, that the *Law of Nature* dictates to every Individual to fight in his own Defence: This is too bold a thing to be delivered so crudely at this time. The *Laws of Nature* are perpetual, and can never be cancelled by any special Law: So if these *Gentlemen* own so freely, that this is a *Law of Nature*, they had best take care not to provoke *Nature* too much, lest She fly to the Relief that this *Law* may give her, unless she is restrained by the *Loyalty* of our *Church*. Our *Author* values his Party much upon their *Loyalty* to *King Charles the First*: but I must take the Liberty to ask him, of what *Religion* were the *Irish Rebels*; and what sort of *Loyalty* was it, that they shewed either in the first *Massacre*, or in the progress of that *Rebellion*? Their *Messages* to the *Pope*, to the *Court of France*, and to the *Duke of Lorrain*, offering themselves to any of these, that would have undertaken to protect them, are Acts of *Loyalty*, which the *Church of England* is no way inclined to follow: and the Authentical Proofs of these things are ready to be produced. Nor need I add to this, the hard terms that they offered to the *King*, and their ill usage of those whom he Employed. I could likewise repress the Insolence of this *Writer*, by telling him of the Slavish Submissions that their Party made to *Cromwel*, both *Father* and *Son*. As for their Adhering to *King Charles the First*, there is a peculiar

Bold.

Boldness in our *Authors* Assertion, who says, that they had no *Hope nor Interest* in *this Cause*: The State of that *Court* is not so quite forgot, but that we do well remember what Credit the *Queen* had with the *King*, and what Hopes *She* gave the *Party*; yet they did not so entirely espouse the *Kings Cause*, but that they had likewise a flying Squadron in the *Parliaments Army*, how boldly soever this may be denied by our *Autor*; for this I will give him a proof, that is beyond exception, in a Declaration of that *King's*, sent to the *Kingdom of Scotland*, bearing date the 21. of April 1643. which is printed over and over again, and as an *Autor* that writes the *History of the late Wars*, has assured us the clean draught of it, corrected in some places with the *King's* own hand, is yet extant: so that it cannot be pretended, that this was only a bold assertion of some of the *Kings Ministers*, that might be ill affected to their *Party*. In that Declaration the *King* studied to possess his *Subjects* of *Scotland* with the Justice of his Cause, and among other things, to clear himself of that Imputation that he had an *Army of Papists* about him, after many things said on that head, these words are added: Great numbers of that Religion have been with great alacrity entertained in that *Rebellious Army* against us: and others have been seduced, to whom we had formerly denied *Employments*; as appears by the Examination of many *Prisoners*, of whom we have taken twenty and thirty at a time of one Troop or Company of that Religion. I hope our *Autor* will not have the Impudence to dispute the Credit that is due to this Testimony: but no Discoveries, how evident soever they may be, can affect some sort of men; that have a Secret against blushing.

V. Our *Autor* exhorts us, to change our Principles of Loyalty, and to take Example of our *Catholic Neighbours*, how to behave ourselves towards a Prince, that is not of our *Persecution*: But would he have us learn of our *Irish Neighbours*, to cut our Fellow Subjects Throats, and rebel against our *King*, be-

cause he is of another Religion? for that is the freshest Example that any of our *Catholic Neighbours* have set us: and therefore I do not look so far back, as to the *Guns-powder-plot*, or the *League of France* in the last Age. He reproaches us for failing in our Fidelity to our *King*. But in this matter we appeal to God, Angels, and Men; and in particular to His Majesty: Let our Enemies shew any one Point of our Duty, in which we have failed: for as we cannot be charged for having preached any Seditious Doctrine, so we are not wanting in the Preaching of the Duties of Loyalty, even when we see what they are like to cost us. The point which he singles out is, that we have failed in that grateful Return, that we owed His Majesty for his Promise, of Maintaining our Church as it is established by Law, since upon that we ought to have repealed the Sanguinary Laws, and the late Impious Tests: the former being enacted to maintain the Usurpation of Queen Elizabeth, and the other being contrived to exclude the present King. We have not failed to pay all the Gratitude and Duty that was possible, in return to His Majesties Promise; which we have carried so far, that we are become the Object even of our Enemies Scorn by it. With all Humility be it said, that if His Majesty had promised us a farther Degree of his Favour, than that of which the Law had assured us, it might have been expected, that our return should have been a degree of Obedience beyond that which was required by Law; so that the return of the Obedience enjoined by Law, answers a Promise of a Protection according to Law: yet we carried this matter further, for as was set forth in the beginning of this Paper, we went on in so high a pace of Compliance and Confidence, that we drew the censures of the whole Nation on us: nor could any Jealousies or Fears give us the least Apprehensions, till we were so hard pressed in matters of Religion, that we could be no longer silent: The same Apostle that taught us to Honour the King, said likewise, that we must obey God rather than man.

Our Author knows the History of our *Laws* ill; for besides what has been already said, touching the *Laws* made by Queen Elizabeth, the severest of all our *Penall Laws*; and that which troubles him and his friends most, was past by K. James after the *Gunpowder-plot*; a Provocation that might have well justified even greater Severities. But tho our Author may hope to impose on an Ignorant Reader, who may be apt to believe implicitly, what he says concerning the *Laws* of the last Age, yet it was too bold for him to assert, that the *Tests*, which are so lately made, were contrived to exclude the present King: when there was not a thought of Exclusion many years after the first was made, and the Duke was excepted out of the second by a special *Proviso*. But these Gentlemen will do well never to mention the *Exclusion*; for every time that it is named, it will make people call to mind, the service that the Church of England did in that matter, and that will carry with it a Reproach of Ingratitude that needs not be aggravated. He also confounds the two *Tests*, as if that for *Publick Employments*, contained in it a declaration of the King's being an *Idolater*, or as he makes it, a *Pagan*: which is not at all in it; but in the other for the *Members of Parliament*, in which there is indeed a Declaration, that the Church of Rome is guilty of *Idolatry*; which is done in general terms, without applying it to His Majesty, as our Author does: Upon this he would infer, that his Majesty is not safe till the *Tests* are taken away: but we have given such Evidences of our loyalty, that we have plainly shewed this to be false; since we do openly declare, that our duty to the King is not founded on his being of this or that Religion; so that His Majesty has a full Security from our Principles, tho the *Tests* continue, since there is no reason that we, who did run the hazard of being ruined by the *Excluders*, when the Tide was so strong against us, would fail his Majesty now, when our Interest and Duty are joyned together: but if the *Tests* are taken away, it is certain that we can

have no Security any longer; for we shall be then laid open to the Violence of such restless and ill-natured men, as the Author of this Paper and his Brethren are.

VI. The same reason that made our Saviour refuse to throw himself down from the roof of the Temple, when the Devil tempted him to it, in the vain Confidence, that Angels must be assistant to him to preserve him, holds good in our Case. Our saviour said, *Thou shalt not Tempt the Lord thy God*. And we dare not trust our selves to the faith and to the Mercies of a Society, that is but too well known to the World, to pretend, that we should pull down our Pales, to let in such Wolves among us. God and the *Laws* have given us a legal Security, and His Majesty has promised to maintain us in it: and we think it argues no Distrust, either of God, or the Truth of our Religion, to say, that we cannot by any Act of our own, lay our selves open, and throw away that defence. Nor would we willingly expose His Majesty to the unwearied Sollicitations of a sort of men, who, if we may Judge of that which is to come, by that which is past, would give him no rest, if once the restraints of Law were taken off, but would drive matters to those Extremities, to which we see their Natures carry them head-long.

VII. The last Paragraph is a strain worthy of that school that bred our Author; he says, His Majesty may withdraw his Royal Protection from the Church of England which was promised her, upon the account of her constant Fidelity; and he brings no other proof to confirm so bold an Assertion but a false Axiome of that despised Philosophy, in which he was bred: *Cessante causa tollitur effectus*. This is indeed such an Indignity to His Majesty, that I presume to say it with all humble reverence, these are the last persons whom he ought to pardon, that have the boldness to touch so sacred a point as the faith of a Prince, which is the chief security of Government; and the Foundation of all the Confidence that a Prince can promise himself from his People, and which, once blasted, can never be recovered: Equivoca-

cations may be both taught and practised with less danger by an *Order* that has little Credit to lose; but nothing can shake *Thrones* so much, as such treacherous *Maxims*. I must also ask our *Author*, in what point of *Fidelity* has our Church failed so far, as to make her forfeit her Title to His *Majesties Promises*? for as he himself has stated this matter, it comes all to this. *The King promised that he would maintain the Church of England as established by Law.* Upon which in Gratitude he says, that the *Church of England* was bound to throw up the Chief *Security* that she had in her Establishment *by Law*; which is, that all who are Intrusted either with the *Legislative* or the *Executive* parts of our Government, must be of her *Communion*; and if the *Church of England* is not so tame and so Submissive, as to part with *this*, then the *King* is free from

(7)  
his *Promise*, and may withdraw his *Royal Protection*; tho I must crave leave to tell him, that the *Laws* gave the *Church of England* a Right to that *Protection*, whether His *Majesty* had promised it or not.

Of all the *Maxims* in the World, there is none more hurtful to the *Government*, in our present Circumstances, than the saying, that the *Kings Promises* and the *Peoples Fidelity* ought to be *Reciprocal*; and that a Failure in the one, cuts off the other: for by a very Natural Consequence the *Subject* may likewise say, that their *Oaths of Allegiance* being founded on the Assurance of His *Majesties Protection*, the *One binds* no longer than the *Other is observed*: and the Inferences that may be drawn from hence will be very terrible, if the *Loyalty* of the so much decry'd *Church of England*, does not put a stop to them.

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F I N I S.

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